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BY-WAYS
of
VIRGINIA
HISTORY

BY
R.H. EARLY

GEO. BEN. JOHNSTON, M. D.,

RICHMOND, VA.

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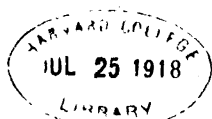
EMBRACING

A SKETCH OF POCAHONTAS

By R. H. EARLY

RICHMOND, VA.
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1907

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*To those Virginians
Who have used their talents to the honor of their
Native State
This Volume is
Respectfully inscribed.*

True glory consists in doing what deserves to be written; in writing what deserves to be read and in so living, as to make the world happier and better for our living in it.—*Pliny*.

PREFACE.

The story of Virginia told in the details of her records lies undiscovered by the student who has not access to out-of-date volumes, family and county court papers, which teem with pathetic and humorous incident, as well as occurrences of strictly historical import. Couched in the quaint language of the day, these unfamiliar notes contain environing circumstances, the cause and effect, of events with which general history deals, including names which have passed from all remembrance.

Interesting in themselves as embodying the thought and action of earlier times they testify to the heroic efforts made to establish a government on just principles and a permanent basis under disadvantageous circumstances. If many of them have been repeated in writings which once won attention and continue to bear the stamp of authority, they are now little known, because the volumes are laid aside and the subjects are crowded out of histories treating of later interests.

The fragments, gleamed from works, not in general circulation and collected together here, are presented as sidelights of history rather than its philosophy and no attempt is made to follow connectedly the course of events, the relation of which has become the oft-told tale of what transpired in the Colony known to her people as the Old Dominion.

Reawakened interest in Jamestown and its associations serves to remind us of the importance of time and tide to

efface all remembrance of the past and inspires the sending forth of a memorial, to those who made that locality the theatre of their activities, in a handy book of reference, which while reviving former relations, is intended to recall the authors,—through whose exertions valuable documents have been preserved,—whose names have long since been inscribed upon the roll of fame.

In view of his disappearance from before Virginia's Camera, a chapter is devoted to the Indian, as representing the romantic phase of early colonial history, Pocahontas its inspiration; since to exclude her from those pages, would signify that we ignore what largely conduced to the preservation of the settlement, when many causes were conspiring towards its destruction. Her life is so closely interwoven with that of the settlers, that it seems fitting to include the narrative of it in any account recording the shifting scenes of early times. For surely the halo surrounding the figure of Pocahontas—who appeared before the adventurers first in the tragic tableau set in Powhatan's Council room—cannot be obscured by any distance of time, or discredit of the incredulous, whether she is regarded simply as an embodiment of charity exerting a benign influence over the endeavors of the settlers; or as the actual Indian girl, who in choosing to unite her hopes and interests with the English, disarmed the antagonism of the natives, and by her helpfulness in making possible the planting of the colony projected, established a claim upon the gratitude of the colonists and that of their descendants.

Other instances of friendliness had been manifested by the Indian to the new-comer, but none had shown sufficient influence over the tribes to insure any continuance of the good will of those savage people. The recognition awarded

her by those who stamped their provincial seal with her image, gave countenance to her claim, which is increased by the fact that land now in our possession, was a portion of the heritage of her father, from which he parted to bestow upon the adventurous white brother, that he might have foothold in the land of his adoption.

The chief aim of the compiler of the sketches here incorporated has been accuracy of record, and in the search after historical material, there has been resort neither to tradition nor invention, in proof of which assertion, reference is given to the authorities quoted, in the following list.

Yet remembering that criticism is more attentive to what is lacking than what is present and also the liability of those endeavoring to be most accurate, to make mistakes, forbearance is asked where omission or error may be discovered.

The public is respectfully informed that this collection is intended especially for those readers not conversant with the history of which the volume treats, and whose advantages for research being fewer, may benefit by the labor of one, who has given to it the best endeavors that earnestness can inspire.

AUTHORITIES QUOTED.

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Belknap's Biographies of Early Discoverers.
Beverley's Historical Collections of Virginia.
Brown's Genesis of America.
Byrd's Westover Manuscripts.
Chas. Campbell's History of the Colony and Ancient
Dominion of Virginia.
Collin's Historical Sketches.
County Court Records.
Dinwiddie Papers.
De Bry. (Hariot's Report.)
Foote's Sketches of Virginia.
Graham's United States of North America.
Grigsby's Convention, 1776.
Haywood's History of Tennessee.
Henning's Statutes At Large.
Hope's Wreath of Virginia Bay Leaves.
Howe's Great West.
Howe's Outlines and Antiquities.
Howison's History of Virginia.
Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.
Jones' Present State of Virginia.
Library of American History.
Macaulay's History of England.
Marshall's History of Kentucky.
Maury's Virginians.
Ramsay's Annals of Tennessee.
Ramsay's History of United States.
Smith's History of Virginia.
Stith's History of Virginia.
Wheeler's History of North Carolina.
Wirt's Life of Henry: and others.

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By-Ways of Virginia History

CHAPTER I.

CONDITIONS IN ENGLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. DAWN OF ENTERPRISE.

"The origin of the American nation, and the rise and progress of all its institutions may be distinctly known."

To understand the manner of people who settled upon Virginia's shore, we need to refer to the recorder familiar with the conditions in England, at the period antedating the first attempts at discovery, and the causes inducing the incorporators to undertake the experiment of planting a colony at so great a distance from their own country.

Preparatory to a narrative of English history from the accession of James II down to a time "within the memory of men still living," Macaulay drew a slight sketch of his country from the earliest times. In this outline he did not cite his authorities "for he did not use recondite materials and the facts mentioned were such that a person tolerably well-read in English history, if not already apprized of them, would know where to look for evidence of them."

From these pages we learn that the constitutional checks on misgovernment were kept in the highest state of efficiency, restraining the oppression of monarchs. The peculiar relation in which the nobility stood to the commonalty, originating at an early period and continuing in force, produced many moral and political effects. There was a strong hereditary aristocracy, but it was neither insolent nor exclusive, and had none of the invidious character of caste. Constantly receiving members from the

people and constantly sending members to mingle with the people, any gentleman might become a peer; the younger son of a peer was but a gentleman. Grandsons of peers yielded precedence to newly-made knights and the dignity of knighthood was not beyond the reach of any man, who could attract notice to his valor in a battle or siege.

England had long enjoyed a large measure of freedom and happiness to which several causes conduced. From the union of order and freedom sprang a prosperity of which the annals of human affairs had furnished no example. The nation's success in arts and arms was celebrated; its civilization was based upon a variety of pursuits and the subdivision of labor of a kind and degree unknown to continental Europe. Its insular position and naval power gave it advantages for forming colonies and extending its commerce.

In this introduction is included the relation of how the new settlement was during many troubled years successfully defended against foreign and domestic enemies; under that settlement, the authority of law and the security of property were found to be compatible with a liberty of discussion and of individual action never before known, and the British Colonies in America rapidly became far mightier and wealthier than the realms which Cortez and Pizarro added to the dominions of Charles V.

Following this explanatory sketch, Macaulay spread upon ample leaves the story of his people and their government, with the accounts of the progress of useful and ornamental arts; the rise of religious sects and the changes of literary taste; the manners of successive generations;—giving such a clear transcript of valuable material, and so agreeably, as won for his book, a place beside imaginative works, the popular novels of the day.

The tide of prosperity and progress he truthfully describes reached the shores of the colony then dependent upon England for being and existence, and flowed in steady waves of agricultural interests and efforts over the country.

Grahame prefaced his history of "the United States of North America, from the Plantation of the English Colonies to the establishment of their Independence," with the admission that he was sensible of a strong predilection in favor of America and the Colonial side in the great controversies between her people and the British government. Against this bias he guards, that he might write without partiality and without hypocrisy, the most important requisite of historical composition being truth, a requisite of which the sincerity of the historian is insufficient to assure us, as he frequently encounters a perplexing variety of dissimilar causes and diverging effects among which it is important, yet difficult, to discriminate. In his examinations and comparisons of records he was often reminded of Sir Robert Walpole's assurance to his son that "history must be false."

Writing in 1827 this Scotch historian finds that information concerning the early history of many of the American provinces, which the public libraries of Great Britain are capable of supplying, are amazingly scanty; therefore, after borrowing and purchasing all the material to be procured in Britain, he made a journey to Göttingen, where he found an ampler collection of North American literature than all the English libraries could supply, yet even with this rich repository he could not be content because he did not find there certain other works, important to him for reference, known to exist.

It is this historian who encourages Americans to believe that they may acquire an accurate acquaintance with the character of their earliest national ancestors and of every succeeding generation through whom the inheritance of the national name and fortunes has devolved to themselves. And he arouses their pride in those ancestors by the information that the existence of the people of the United States originated in the noblest efforts of wisdom, fortitude and magnanimity; and that successive acquisitions have extended liberty and happiness, till respect for antiquity becomes the motive of virtue and the whole nation should feel itself ennobled by ancestors whose renown will continue the honor or the reproach of their successors.

Grahame graphically explains the causes retarding America's settlement and in the recital discloses the fact that the demon, graft, now grown to such gigantic proportions, is not an invention of the twentieth century, but had been evoked by an European nation over three centuries ago. And also he records the lesson taught a superior, by a less civilized ruler, of fairness and honesty, a lesson for all men and times, that no people, however powerful, in their endeavor to extend their selfish interests, may long infringe upon the rights of others.

Here Macaulay adds his testimony to Grahame's, informing us that English sovereigns had always been entrusted with the direction of commercial *police*. It was their prerogative to regulate coin, weights and measures; and to appoint fairs, markets and ports. The line of their authority being loosely drawn, they encroached on the province which belonged to the legislature. This encroachment was borne until it became serious. When in 1601 Elizabeth took upon herself to grant patents of monopolies by scores,

the House of Commons met in an angry and determined mood. In vain a courtly minority blamed the speaker for suffering the acts of her highness to be called in question. Menacing was echoed by the voice of the whole nation, which exclaimed that the prerogative should not be suffered to touch the liberties of Old England. There seemed danger that Elizabeth's glorious reign would have a disastrous end. She however declined the contest; put herself at the head of the reforming party, redressed the grievance; *thanked* the Commons for their care of the general weal and brought back to herself the hearts of the people.

She had granted Raleigh a patent to license the vending of wines throughout the kingdom, "of the injustice of which he was not unconscious, for when the spirit of resistance shewed itself, and a member of the House of Commons inveighed against it, Sir Walter was observed to blush. Afterwards he voted for the abolition of such monopolies and no one could have made a more munificent use of such emoluments than he, in his efforts to effect the discovery and colonization of Virginia." Stith confirms this in saying that the license for vending wine was supposedly designed to enable Raleigh, by the profits, to sustain the vast charges of his undertaking.

Before the exhibition of queenly discretion had restored her people's faith, Elizabeth was trying her *prerogative* beyond the limits of her own kingdom, and her trial and ultimate discomfiture, are thus related by Grahame.

"The reign of Elizabeth was productive of the first attempt that the English made to establish a permanent settlement in America. But many causes contributed to enfeeble their exertions for this purpose, and to retard the accomplishment of this great design.

"The civil government of Elizabeth, in the commencement of her reign, was highly acceptable to her subjects; and her commercial policy, though frequently perverted by the interests of arbitrary power and principles of an erroneous system, was not less laudibly designed than judiciously directed, to the cultivation of their resources and the promotion of their prosperity.

"By permitting a free exportation of corn, she promoted the agriculture and commerce of England and by treaties with foreign powers, she endeavored to establish commercial relations between their subjects and her own. She obtained from John Basilides, the Czar of Muscovy, a patent which conferred the whole trade of his dominions on the English; but his son, Theodore revoked it, and answered, to the Queen's remonstrances, that he was determined to rob neither his own subjects nor foreigners, by subjecting to monopolies, what should be free to all mankind.

"So superior was the commercial policy, which natural justice taught this barbarian, to the system derived from boasted learning and renowned ability, which loaded the freedom and industry of the people with patents, monopolies and exclusive companies."

An English work casting some light on the establishment of the colony, and which appeared in 1738, is called, "The History of British Plantations in America with a Chronological Account of the most remarkable Things which happened to the first Adventurers in their several Discoveries of that New World." Part 1. containing the History of Virginia, With Remarks on the Trade and Commerce of that Colony—by Sir William Keith, Bart. London; printed at the Expence of the society for the Encouragement of Learning, by S. Richardson; and sold by A. Millar at

Buchanon's Head in the Strand, J. Nourse at Temple Bar, and J. Gray in the Poultry—Booksellers to the Society. MDCCXXXVIII. (Price Four Shillings in Sheets.)

"To the Reader," Keith introduces his work with the remarks that "Although there is not any thing more requisite, to explain the History of a Country, than an exact and complete Map to which the Reader has continual Occasion to have Recourse, and that those here presented are the latest and best of the kind that could be got; yet it must be own'd they are not so perfect as could be wished, because to make an exact and careful survey of a large Country is such an expensive and laborious Work, as can only be executed by Order at the Charge of the Public. Whereof it is to be hoped, that as the British Plantations on the Continent in America are daily increasing, both in Extent and Value, the public Spirit which influences the Conduct of the Legislative Body will, some time or other, induce them to enable His Majesty to give proper Directions, That the several Governors may cause exact surveys to be made of the Colonies, over which they respectively preside.

"There is one thing more for which I am sorry there should be any Occasion to make an Apology, namely, the Want of a distinct and particular Account of the Exports and Imports in Trade to and from Virginia; for after a most assiduous and respectful Application to the proper Officers from whence these Accounts only can be had, it was told me, in a very civil Manner that such Things could not be granted without Orders from Above; which I had no Room to expect, because I could not be favored with Access to view the Books and Papers relating to the Plantations in any of our public Offices or to receive the least assistance of that Kind in the Prosecution of this well-intended and (as it is presumed) useful Work.

"The accounts hitherto published of these Colonies have been found imperfect and deficient in many things of which it has been thought necessary that the Public should be truly and more fully informed.

"There is something so grave and solemn in History that it necessarily affects the honest Reader with that awful Respect which an impartial Historian always pays to Truth; for if the Writer keeps a Strict Guard over his Passions, not suffering them to be any ways interested in the Facts and Circumstances which he is indispensably obliged to relate,—though some few may wish that several things had not been so openly exposed to public View,—yet the impartial Reader will doubtless make use of the Mirror set before him to correct for the future, according to his own Judgment and Ability, the Errors of former Times.

"Whoever endeavors to alienate the dutiful Affection of the Subject in the Plantations or the paternal Tenderness of Great Britain, with a view to private Gain is an Enemy to the inseparable Interest of both—to the public interest of the British State—in any Shape to countenance and suffer the Subjects in the Plantations to be oppressed, an Infringement of the Liberties of the people of Great Britain and Offense against the State, the comfortable Support and Preservation of whose Parts is essential to the public Good of the Whole.

"America, accidentally discovered, led the first Writers into a multitude of very wild and extravagant Relations, which have been injudiciously received as a Part of the History of those times. In 1495-6 during the reign of Henry VII, John Cabot, a man perfectly skilled in all the sciences requisite to form an accomplished mariner and who caused his sons to be educated in the same manner,—gained

favorable attention of the king, who granted him a commission of discovery. The famous discovery of Columbus caused great admiration and much discourse in the court of Henry, among the merchants of England. But the king became so deeply engaged in a war with Scotland that his discoveries were neglected. Sebastian Cabot, an English subject, received from Edward VI. a yearly Pension of £160.13.4. sterling during his Life as appears by letters Patent, dated at Westminster Jan. 6, 1548. But not now seeing any opening in England, he offered his services to Spain and became chief Pilot to the Emperor.

• "In 1540 America was by so many expeditions sufficiently discovered, to put the Reality of such a vast continent out of all doubt, and the uncommon spirit for Trade and the new Channels it had discovered, gave occasion for great Improvements in the Arts of Ship-building and Navigation. Innumerable Voyages and Expeditions multiplied Exchanges and enlarged the views of the Merchants every where.

"The Memoirs which pass under the name of the incomparable Genius and great Statesman, Mr. John de Wit, contain a most valuable collection of elegant Observations on Trade and Government, and take notice of the great advantages which must in time accrue to Great Britain from its large Settlements on the American Continent.

"When any English Plantation in America came to be settled, the first Application was to maintain Liberty and property by providing for an equal Distribution of Justice without any Respect of Persons." (There follows the account of Raleigh's ventures 1584-5; and the course of subsequent colonial history, based upon Smith's and other colonist's relations.)

Keith is accused of following Beverley very closely; and where these two and Oldmixon give the date of the first Assembly as taking place in 1620, Howison calls them an *erring trio*, characterizing them, generally, as prejudiced and superficial.

In his remarks on the Trade and Government of Virginia, Keith gives it as his opinion that "Although great advantages may accrue to the mother state both from the labour and luxury of its plantations, yet, *they* will probably be mistaken, who imagine that the advancement of literature and the improvement of arts and sciences, in our American Colonies, can ever be of any service to the British state,"¹ an opinion, prophetic of the causes and struggles of the war for Independence, and the final severance of the Colonies.

Through the repeated records of all history, it is known, that by the persistent efforts and daring of Columbus, the islands along the American coast were first discovered. His brilliant achievements excited the ardor of enterprise, especially in Spain and Portugal, but gave him little besides the glory of the exploit, and to his native country only the honour due his birthplace. Since his day Italy has delighted to honor so distinguished a son, and among the memorials erected there is none more beautiful, than the bust, exhibited in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, in the Protomoteca, the palace of the Conservatori. This especial exhibition hall is a long corridor, formed by Pius VII. for a collection of busts of celebrated Italians, especially those who have distinguished themselves in art and science.

Failure elsewhere to secure material encouragement had induced Columbus to send his brother to the English court, to solicit the aid of Henry VII, in his project of maritime

¹ Keith. p. 187.



CHRIST'R COLUMBUS. Capitolene Museum, Rome.

adventure; and that king's notice was attracted by the gift of a map,² which was accepted with a joyful countenance, and the donor was bidden "to fetch his brother." But the mission was so delayed, by the illness and capture of the messenger, that before its success could be communicated, the discovery had been accomplished; which induced the English king to listen to later proposals.

An eager desire prevailed to discover a passage through America leading to India, (the land of golden dreams) which might prove nearer than that by the Cape of Good Hope. Sebastian Cabot conceived the hope that the islands found by Columbus were not far from the Indian continent. His father, Giovanni Gabato—a native of Venice, settled in Bristol with other compatriot merchants,—applied for and received a commission of discovery from Henry VII. on March 5th, 1495; availing himself of which he embarked, with his three sons, at Bristol in 1497 in a ship, attended by four small vessels equipped by merchants of that city.

The second son, Sebastian, born in England,³ greatly excelled his father in genius and nautical science, and to him must be ascribed all the discoveries associated with the name of Cabot.⁴ The first approach towards the country, to which later Elizabeth gave the name of Virginia, was made by him.

Guided by the discovery of the Genoese, he pursued the same track, and continuing a westerly course, reached the continent of North America, and sailed along from Labra-

² Hakluyt III. p. 22. On the map the date 1488 is written "The yeere of Grace, a thousand and four hundred and fourscore. And eight and on the eighteenth day of February more. Bartholomew, Colon de Terra, Rubra. In London published this worke. To Christ all laud therefore. (foot-note Howe, p. 13.)

³ Bancroft 1. p. 8.

⁴ Grahame.

dor to the coast of Virginia, thus achieving the merit of being the first to discover the continent stretching from the Gulf of Mexico towards the North Pole. He did not attempt a footing on the continent and England, torn by civil wars, was too much engrossed now to claim the right of property from priority of discovery. Her only immediate benefit from the enterprise was the importation of turkeys, the first seen in the western part of Europe.⁵

The commission granted to John Cabot and his three sons, their heirs and deputies, gave them "liberty to sail to all ports, of east, west and north, under the royal banners and ensigns; to discover countries of the heathen unknown to Christians; to set up the king's banners there; to occupy and possess as his subjects, such places as they could subdue, giving them the rule and jurisdiction of the same, to be holden on condition of paying to the king, as often as they should arrive at Bristol (at which place only they were permitted to arrive) in wares and merchandise, one-fifth part of all their gains: with exemption from all customs and duties on such merchandise as should be brought from their discoveries. "Orders were given for two Caravels to be victualled at public expense and freighted by the merchants of London and Bristol, with coarse cloths and other articles of traffic. There were 300 men in the company. The accounts of the voyage are preserved by Hakluyt.⁶

After Cabot's time no deliberate design was made to follow up the advantages gained by the enterprise; matters nearer at hand occupied the nation's attention, till the reign of Elizabeth developed measures for the establishment of the American Colonies.

⁵ We read of turkeys being used in Greece earlier.

⁶ Belknap.

In 1578 the bold navigator, Sir Humphrey Gilbert,—who as a member of the House of Commons in 1571, had strenuously defended the Queen's prerogative against the charge of monopoly—formed a design of engaging in useful colonization. Elizabeth⁷ granted him a patent for the discovering, occupying and peopling of "such remote, heathen and barbarous countries as were not actually possessed by any Christian people."

When he was preparing for his voyage, she sent him a golden anchor with a large pearl at the peak and Raleigh (his half-brother) accompanied the present with this letter, "A token from her majesty, an anchor guided by a lady, and farther, her highness willed me to send you word that she wished you as great hap and safety to your ship as if herself were there in person."

In consequence of his grant, many of his friends joined him and preparations were made for the expedition which promised to be advantageous, but failed and in it Gilbert had sunk much of his private fortune. To make a second attempt he had to sell his estate and again assisted by friends, he set sail from Plymouth June 11, 1583 and landing on the eastern coast of Newfoundland, took formal possession in consequence of Cabot's discovery; but this expedition cost the life of the fearless projector, and with the loss of their commander, the enterprise was abandoned and the adventurers dispersed.

⁷ Purchas calls the queen "the victorious Deborah "

CHAPTER II.

RALEIGH, THE ADVENTURER. TRIALS AND FAILURE.

"One planned the Saxon's Empire o'er these lands
His piercing eyes anhungered in their glances for a world
That he might win by daring enterprise—
A man to note as one who shot his arrows straitway at the sun."¹

Following a recital of English commercial enterprise, which, disappointed in one quarter, was desirous of turning its attention to another, Grahame introduces Sir Walter Raleigh "the originator of the settlements which grew up in North America" and relates how the maiden queen in granting a new patent, was graciously pleased to bestow it upon this favorite, authorizing him to discover and appropriate all barbarous lands unoccupied by Christian powers.

"Raleigh projected the establishment of a colony in that quarter of America, which Cabot had visited. The lands were to be held by the crown of England, with the obligation of paying a fifth part of the produce of all gold and silver mines; it permitted the subjects of Elizabeth to accompany the expedition and guaranteed them a continuance of the enjoyment of all the rights of free denizens of England. Strange as it may appear, the provision was absolutely necessary to evade the obstruction of the existing law.

By an ancient law, as declared in the Great Charter of King John all men might go freely out of the kingdom

¹ "Three Names" from the "Wreath of Virginia Bay Leaves." Jas. Barron Hope.



SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

saving their faith due to the king. But no such clause appears in the charter of his successor and during the reign of Elizabeth it was enacted that any subject departing the realm without a license, under the Great Seal, should forfeit his personal estate and lose the profits of his lands for life."

Not disheartened by the fate of his relative, Raleigh the next year, collected his associates and effected the equipment of an expedition, which, sailing southward, anchored in Roanoke bay, and upon their return to England published flattering accounts of the hospitality of the people, mildness of the climate and the fertility of the soil; the intelligence of which diffused general satisfaction and enabled Raleigh to complete the arrangements for a permanent settlement, under the command of Grenville in August, 1585.

Of this party was Thomas Hariot,² "who endeavored to impress upon the minds of the natives, a proper sense of a Superior Being and succeeded so far with the king Wingina that when he was attacked by illness, this chief sent to beg the attendance and prayers of the English; for he and some of his subjects acknowledged that the God of the strangers was more powerful and beneficent to his people than the deities they served. And when they shewed anxiety to touch the Bible and apply it to their breasts and heads, Hariot sought to convince them that salvation was to be obtained by acquaintance with the contents of the book and not by veneration of its exterior."

Disappointed in their search for gold mines, straitened for provisions and surrounded by enemies, these, the first colonists landed in America, abandoned the country, being conducted back to England by Drake in 1586.

² Whom Belknap calls a "skilful mathematician and curious observer."

To them is due all the credit for importing the knowledge of tobacco into Great Britain, which grew to be the most cherished luxury of a great part of her people. This weed was called by the natives *uppowoc*.

Unaware of the decision of his colonists, Raleigh had dispatched a supply of provisions and a fortnight later a second supply of men, in three ships conducted by Grenville. Of these fifty men³ (?) were landed at Roanoke and the rest returned to England to communicate the state of affairs.

The following year the resourceful Raleigh sent again three ships under Capt. White, with a charter "to White and twelve associates as Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh, and though their apprehensions were excited by the melancholy spectacle of a ruined fort and scattered bones, White and his companions determined to remain and proceeded to repair the houses and revive the colony. But needing some articles they deemed essential to comfort and preservation they sent White to England to solicit these requisites."

It was on the occasion of touching port in Ireland upon "this return voyage that White left specimens of the potato"

³ Hakluyt and Bancroft say 15 men, but it seems scarcely credible that so small a number would consent to be left, at the mercy of large bodies of savages, in a country so little known to them.

⁴ Thomas Hariot gives the first description of the potato, introduced from America into Ireland, which, after Raleigh's experiment with it in his garden was planted all over Ireland. Prejudice prevented its adoption, in England, for many years and this at last was only accomplished by means of premiums; when the poorer people ventured to use a root they had hitherto eschewed.

In France its advocates were mobbed for endeavoring to force upon the people, food which would poison them. Finally the success of its introduction was secured through the finesse of a celebrated philanthropist who planted a field of potatoes over which he placed a guard with instructions to permit all thieving possible.

Convinced of the value of a vegetable, which needed such watchful care, prejudice disappeared in the desire to test its merits, and the people managed to steal nearly the whole crop.

plant brought from America, which, though difficult to introduce, became the staple article of diet.

"In the yeere 1587 there were sent thither above 100 men, women and children and from that time untill the 3rd yeere (1606) of king James all yeerely sending thither *for plantation* ceased."

When White arrived, though England was engrossed in efforts for defense against the Spanish Armada, Raleigh exerted himself for the relief of his colonists, equipping a squadron for that purpose. His object, however was defeated by the queen, who detained these ships by force.

The next year White⁵ successfully conducted a relief expedition but found the territory evacuated by the people who had been left and no tidings of their destiny could be obtained.

This last venture was dispatched, not by Raleigh, but his successors in the American patent; as a multiplicity of new undertakings were now occupying his energies and it became impossible for him to continue the efforts he had devoted to his Virginia Colony, he transferred his patent.

His assignment of this patent March 7th, 1589 was made to Thomas Smith and other merchants and adventurers. Though disengaged from the business Raleigh sent five times to seek for his friends, the last attempt being in 1602, a year only before his imprisonment.

One of the society of Councillors and Adventurers, to whom this work was assigned, was the Revd Richard Hak-

⁵ Belknap says that it was with much reluctance White had consented to leave the colony, when it had been found necessary that some person should return to England for further supplies, after his second voyage in 1587. A dispute arising in the Council as to who should go, after much altercation it was determined, that the Governor was the most proper person to be sent on this errand. The whole company joined in urging him, promising to take care of his interest in his absence. He consented on their subscribing a testimonial to his unwillingness to quit the plantation.

luyt,⁶ prebendary of Westminster (at one time of St. Augustine's church, Bristol) a man of eminent attainments in naval and commercial knowledge, the patron and advisor of many of the English expeditions of discovery, the correspondent of the leaders who conducted them and the historian of their exploits.

"A laborious compiler who chose for his department of history the discoveries of his countrymen," his works were first published in 1600 and republished in 1809.

In his "Collection of Voyages" Churchill says Hakluyt's "Discoveries" are valuable for the good there to be picked out. One of the late Virginia historians,⁷ appreciating the service of this Associator—"a man of great learning and indefatigable industry,"—feels that America owes Hakluyt a heavy debt of gratitude, as through his chronicles, information is preserved of the work accomplished, and of the vast extent of country originally bearing the name of Virginia. "The whole continent of North America fronting upon the Atlantic Ocean was called Virginia long before any portion of that particular district that now bears this name had been discovered."

Belknap suggests that the name *Virginia* was intended to signify that the country retained its virgin purity and the people their primitive simplicity.

The eminent mathematician, Thomas Hariot (a name written *Heriot* by the earlier historians) came to Raleigh's knowledge through his skill in mathematics; and was sent by Sir Walter to Virginia in 1585, where he was employed during his year's sojourn in the discovering and surveying of

⁶ Hakluyt wrote for Raleigh in 1584 "A particular discourse concerning the necessitie and manifold Comodyties that are like to grow to this Realme of England by the Western Discoveries." Brown.

⁷ Howison, Vol 1. p. 89.

the country. Upon his return he published the result of his labors in "A Brief and True Report of the Newfound Land of Virginia"⁸ London, 1588, which was dedicated to Raleigh.⁹ This astute adventurer, in the selection of his agents for carrying out his plans, chose wisely. Another member of his expedition of 1585, whose labors were not all wasted, was Captain John White, who made maps of the country and drawings of the natives, "their habits, employments, diversions and superstitions," illustrations which were utilized by De Bry, Beverley and others. White continued his interest in American colonization, in associating himself with those to whom Raleigh assigned the greater part of his patent in 1589,—conducting several of the expeditions himself.

"The topographical description of the country and its natural hitsory" written by Hariot, was translated into Latin and published by De Bry in his collection of voyages, at which time De Bry also had engraven and printed White's drawings, at Frankfort in 1590; and this work "*Theodorus de Bry*" also dedicated to Raleigh. His dedication reads:

"To the Right Worthie and Honourable Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight. Seeing that the part of the Worlde, named Virginia, to the honneur of queen Elizabeth, discovered by yr means And great charges And that yr Colony hath been theer established to yr great honnor and prayse and no lesser profit unto the commonwealth. It is good raison that every man exert himself for to shoue the benefit which they have receue of yt. Theerfore for my parte I have been allwayes Desirous for to make you knowe the

⁸ Preserved in Hakluyt's "Collection of Voyages," Vol III. p. 226.

⁹ Brown.

good will that I have to remayne still your most humble servant I have thincke that I could faynde no better occasion to declare yt then takinge the paynes to cott in copper the Figures which do lovelye represent the forme and manner of the Inhabitants of the same Countrey with their ceremonies, sollemne feasts and the manner of the Townes or Villages. Moreover I have thincke that the aforesaid figures wear of greater Commendation If some Historie which traitin of the time" (here is given the reason for reprinting Hariot's Report) "Published Apprill 1590."

White's map of Virginia, the first ever made, was drawn in 1585 and used by De Bry to locate the Newfoundland. He entitles this "America pars Nunc Virginia dicta primum ab Anglis, etc., Autori, Joanne Witt, Scultori, Theodore de Bry" size 11.25x15.25. Translation converted the English name of White, from the Latin back into the original tongue, as Witt or Withe and as late as 1860, Campbell so gives it.

Another mistake through the translation of this Latin edition, originated the supposition that Raleigh came to Virginia with the colony in 1585. The English narrative reads "the actions of those who have been by Sir Walter Raleigh therein employed" while the translators reported that Raleigh went and others accompanied him.¹⁰

Raleigh started for America with Gilbert's expedition in the fall of 1578, having command of the *Falcon*. We have seen that Gilbert was forced to return, after embarking on this voyage. Yet Beverley asserts that Raleigh came to the land of Cape Hatteras in search of the Colonists, whom Drake had carried away.

¹⁰ Stith.

In writing of Raleigh's voyage to Guiana, Brown tells of his return to England, when he sailed past our whole coast via Newfoundland, "his nearest approach to Virginia."

The discovery of Chesapeake bay, (which he had been informed had the significant meaning of "mother of waters") Henry Howe thinks¹¹ was the greatest advantage accruing from Raleigh's expeditions. But Campbell is of the opinion that this water was the same as the Bay of Santa Maria, explored by Morquez, governor of Florida in 1573; and his belief is confirmed by a map in a rare work, in French dated 1676 entitled "Tourbe Ardante," where he finds the Chesapeake called St. Mary's Bay. (This work was shewn Campbell by the librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.) Also he had further confirmation from a "Memoir on the first discovery of the Chesapeake," by Greenhow, published by the Virginia Historical Society in 1848.¹²

We have to thank Raleigh for the name, *Virginia* which originating at the time of his ventures, was preserved to specify that part of the country later confined within the limits of the colony discovered and settled, under the patent of James I. And though all honor should be accorded Smith as the preserver of the settlement finally established, the title of founder belongs, with justice, to Raleigh, whose exertions gave an impulse in a direction which had not spent its force, a bias to the national mind, which united their views and hopes, by association with colonization in America, so that plans began to be formed in various parts of the kingdom which ultimated in further experiments, happily more fortunate than his, but with all the advantage to be gained from his experience. The bitterness of Ral-

¹¹ Outline of History, pp. 19, 22.

¹² Campbell. Footnotes, pp. 18, 19, History of Virginia, 1860.

eigh's death merits the regretful sympathy of the country he fain would have benefited.

Turning from the consideration of the disappointments and wasted efforts, the sacrifice of life and substance, the mysterious disappearance of the colonists and sad end of that *learned and valiant spirit*, of whom it is said "there never was a distinguished reputation so much indebted to genius and so little to success"—we will review the inducements for renewed efforts and the more fortunate venture under the auspices of a new patent granted to a new company by the Virgin Queen's successor upon the English throne.

Gosnold's report, after his voyage made during the last year of Elizabeth's reign of a shorter route to North America, a healthy climate, fertile soil and coast with excellent harbours "which they reluctantly quitted" served to stimulate further exertions and in 1603, by Hakluyt's persuasion, two vessels were fitted out, by the merchants of Bristol,¹³ which were sent to verify Gosnold's statement by examining his discoveries and which returning "gave ample confirmation of his veracity."

A second expedition this same year was sent from London under Gilbert (Capt. Bartholomew). Again in 1605 an expedition on a similar errand reported so much additional testimony in favor of the country, that an association, formed of wealthy and influential citizens presented a petition to the king for his sanction of a plan formed for settlement and his authority for its execution.

We find that England at this time possessed a population considered redundant in consequence of inadequate means

¹³ Campbell, p. 29. "The Mayor, Aldermen and Merchants of Bristol dispatched an expedition under Captain Pring in 1603."

afforded by her limited commerce and inefficient agriculture. Further the pacific and timid character of James I. threw out of employment, many of the *brave spirits*, who had served under the preceding sovereign and left them the choice of only two means of acquiring wealth or distinction and these were either to draw a mercenary sword in the quarrels of strangers or to serve their king and country by transplanting their energy and enterprise to a new world.¹¹

A question suggested here is what would have become of this (increasingly) redundant population, if America's awaiting vastness had not been unfolded before them and the secret of tobacco and grain wealth disclosed, in the fecundity of plain and prairie, with the immediate possession and enjoyment of her great forest reserves?

With Gosnold as prime mover, a remedy was at hand through the letters patent issued April, 1606, giving permission to willing pioneers, to search for and make the settlement upon which Captain John Smith was to become the chief actor.

Howe.

CHAPTER III.

JOHN SMITH, SOLDIER OF FORTUNE, AND RECORDER OF HISTORY.

"Another * * * * planted it with valiant hands
 Held the world at large as his estate and
 First of his line * * * * stood * * * *^a
 planted spear
 The New World saw the English Pioneer!"¹

Taking up the lines of Virginia history from the pens of Virginia recorders, we find that the writings of Smith, Beverley and Stith form the basis of that which comes through the works of various distinguished historians down to us. In them is preserved the narrative of daily happenings to the knowledge of which the two first lay claim, not only as natives of the province, but often eye-witnesses of the scenes they depict.

A tendency to discredit certain of this testimony, seems to threaten more general disbelief in the matter so preserved and warrants a reassertion of those claims with the proofs within reach lest, with other causes leading to their disappearance, we altogether lose them.

The army of Virginia writers and other writers of Virginia history, who have followed in the wake of these early ones, have made noble efforts for the preservation of the old records, earnestly impressing upon the attention of posterity, their importance and rareness.

The chronicles, reaching us as they do through the medium of many authors, and stamped with the impress of

¹ James Barron Hope. "Three Names."

their various mental attitudes, have become differently pictured, and colored in the transmission, but the light and shade of opinion cannot alter underlying principles nor disprove recorded facts.

All authorities agree in the necessity for the preservation of the truth, and towards this end, a studious research of records, a need which increases as, with the lapse of years, history becomes more and more a work of compilation, with accompanying commentaries, which, it may be unintentionally, but, surely, insidiously, tends to alter original documents.

The name of John Smith, adventurer, conqueror, discoverer, and at last president of the Virginia colonial settlement, needs no introduction to the American people. When Smith found his usefulness as an assistant in the work of colonization was over, he bent the energies of an active mind towards collecting and publishing every thing that had been written concerning the enterprises with which he had been connected. Had he left this undone, doubtless there would have survived records, both private and public, to reveal in time, the story of Virginia's *path-finders*; but it has happened that his writings principally have served for general uses of circulating information.

The boldest refuter,² of Smith's claims to authorship, states that Smith's "True Relation" (several times reprinted in this country) was the first account of the Virginia colony given to the world, and probably, sent as a letter, was published with the running title of "News from Virginia." It contains "such occurrences and accidents of note as have happened in Virginia synce the first plantinge of that colonye which is now resident in the South parte till

² Alex. Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, Vol. I. pp. 181-3.

Master Nelson's coming away from there"; and was "printed August 13th, 1608 by John Tapp, printer and William Welby, bookseller, at the signe of the Greyhound in Paul's Churchyard."

Brown's investigations, while consulting English authorities for fragments relating to the "Genesis of the United States," enabled him to make certain discoveries, which led to his questioning Smith's claims. He confesses that this Relation leaves a more favorable impression than his later works: "It is true, in this work, he (Smith) does not conceal his good opinion of himself, but his vanity and his injustice to others increased with his age. Yet it may be said that no one could now attempt to venture a decision regarding the troubles in Virginia unless they had all the evidence before them."

We learn through Smith's most zealous biographer, Belknap, that when the king in 1624 instituted a commission for the reformation of Virginia, Smith, by the desire of the commissioners, gave in a relation of his former proceedings in the colony, and his *opinion and advice* respecting the proper methods of remedying the defects in government, and carrying on the plantation, with a prospect of success. These, with many other papers, Smith collected and published in 1627 in a thin folio, under the title of the "General History of Virginia, New England and the Somer Isles."

Unfortunately Belknap trusted the account in Beverley of this transaction too unquestioningly, and in a foot-note of his biography he adds "Agreeably to Smith's advice to these commissioners, *King Charles I. at his accession* dissolved the company in 1626 and reduced the colony under the immediate direction of the crown." Later disclosures correct this mistake.

The narrative part of Smith's Genl. His. 1627. is made up of the journals and letters of those who were concerned with him in the plantation "intermixed with his own observations:" and most of these his friend, Purchas, had published two years before in his "Pilgrims." One historian³ states that Smith had the assistance from the letters of about thirty different writers in this history, which together with his "True Travels, Adventures, and Observations" was republished by the Rev. Dr. John H. Rice in 1819 at Richmond, Virginia, a copy both exact and complete, excepting some maps and engravings. This reprint is now rare.

Among the contributors to this history of Smith (to whom Campbell refers) were:

1 *Thomas Studley*, "first provant maister" (Percy, in his list of those who perished in the summer of 1607 from disease and starvation, records the name of Thomas Stoodie, Cape-merchant, August 28th.)

2 *Walter Russell*, "doctor of Phisicke," who accompanied Smith on his voyages of exploration along the shores of the Virginia rivers. Died—1609.

3 *Anas Todkill*, servant to Capt. John Martin.

4 *Nathaniel Powell*, killed at "Powell Brooke" in the massacre of 1622.

5 *Jeffra Abot*, in 1611, convicted of treasonable plots and executed.

6 *Richard Wyffin*, who volunteered to inform Smith of the drowning of Scrivener and party.

7 *William Phettyplace*, came to Virginia in 1607.

8 *Thomas Abbay*, sent to Virginia, September, 1608.

9 *Thomas Hope*, a tailor, came over in 1608.

10 *Richard Pots*, Clerk of the Council in Virginia 1608-9. Returned to England.

And others, whom Smith cites.

³ Campbell.

Referring to the fact that Smith never returned to Virginia, Grahame thinks it was well, in the interests of history that he did not, for a longer residence in the colony might have deprived the world of that stock of valuable information which the publication of his travels has been the means of perpetuating, and he believes that Smith's renown will break forth again, and once more be commensurate with his deserts; that it will grow, with the growth of men and letters in America, and that whole nations of his admirers have yet to be born.

Brown admits that for two hundred and twenty-five years the "General History of Virginia" was almost the only source of information regarding our beginning and in Smith's work is found the only publication of the period giving a detailed account of events, while Smith was in Virginia. To avoid doing this author any injustice, he has carefully weighed every scrap of evidence within his reach, but the result of his examinations, for confirmation or rejection of this *authority*, is a verdict adverse to Smith's pretensions as author or hero, the key-note of his unfavorable judgment being the great wrong, he considers done—to the real founders of the colony.

Stith, exceedingly careful not to reflect disparagingly on any author, without grave cause, in alluding to the "Just Suspicion in the History of Argall's Government" explains "not that I question Smith's integrity for I take him to have been a very honest Man and a strenuous Lover of Truth. He depended upon Thomas Smith, Argall and their friends for an account of things. The account of Argall especially was taken from himself and a Relation of Rolfe."

History tells that John Smith became so famous his adventures were dramatized, to his annoyance. Smith claimed that these were only *misrepresentations*, at a time

when the Virginia enterprise had gotten into disfavor in England, from the disappointments of the adventurers and the great sufferings and losses incurred in the colony.

In his own behalf Smith published "The Travels and Adventures of Captaine John Smith" which is a repetition of former relations with additional descriptions. Starting upon the account of his travels made with the expectation of bettering his own condition, while endeavoring to advance the interests of the Company, Smith makes this appeal—"Who is he that hath judgment, courage and any industry or quality with understanding, will leave his country, his hopes at home, his certain estate, his friends, pleasures, liberty and the preferment that England doth afford to all degrees, were it not to advance his fortunes by enjoying his deserts?" He thus refers to the assistance he has received in writing his travels—"what my authors cannot tell me, I think it no greater error in helping them to tell it myself;"⁴ and in a brief description, sums up his entire experience while in the Virginia colony. First he planted Virginia and was set ashore with a hundred men in the wildwoods; was taken prisoner by the savages and by the king of Pamunkey; tied to a tree to be shot to death; led up and down the country to be shewn for a wonder; fatted as he thought for a sacrifice to their idol, before whom they conjured three days with strange dances and invocations; then brought before the Emperor Powhatan, who commanded him to be slain; how his daughter, Pocahontas saved his life, returned him to Jamestown, relieved him and his famished company, which was but eight and twenty to possess the large dominions; how he discovered all the several nations, on the rivers falling into the bay of Ches-

⁴Campbell, p. 38.

peake; was stung almost to death by the poisonous tail of a fish called a stingray; was blown up with gun-powder and returned to England to be cured.⁵

In 1612 appeared a work with the title "A Map of Virginia, with a description of the Countrey, The Commodities, People Government and Religion. Written by Captaine John Smith, sometime Governour of the Countrey." The map was "graven by William Hole:" it has appeared in various editions, one, "probably the second impression" is said to have been engraved especially for Purchas' Pilgrims.

A copy is given with a series of maps, accompanying the report of the Virginia commissioners appointed to ascertain the boundary line between Maryland and Virginia, published by R. F. Walker, Supt. Public Printing, Richmond 1873. (The commissioners appointed on the part of Virginia for the work were Henry A. Wise, D. C. Dejarnette and William Watts.)

Smith relates that when Capt. Newport left Virginia on a return voyage to England in 1608, he sent a "Mappe of the Bay and Rivers with an annexed Relation of the Countries and Nations that inhabit there, material for which had been gathered during two exploratory voyages, at which time he took notes and mapped out the country for the future guidance of the colonists and the satisfaction of his countrymen in England."

Bancroft in describing Smith's voyages for the purpose of discovering the tributary waters of the Chesapeake, declares that the map Smith prepared and *sent* to the Company in London delineates correctly the great outlines of Nature, being astonishingly accurate. This biographer thinks the expedition was worthy the romantic age of America.

⁵ Smith.

Slightly differing in his testimony, Robertson says Smith *brought* with him an account of that large portion of Virginia and Maryland, so full and exact that after the progress of information and research for a century and a half, his map exhibits no inaccurate view of the countries, and it is the original upon which all subsequent descriptions have been formed.

A reproach falling upon the company employing him, and the colonists immediately benefited is in Smith's complaint "I have spent five years and more than £500. in the service of Virginia and New England and in neither of them have I one foot of land nor the very house I built, nor the ground I digged with my own hands; but I see those countries shared before me by those who know them only by my descriptions."

The "True Travels" printed in 1629 from which Dr. Jeremy Belknap drew the material for his biography are preserved entire in Churchill's Collections. Relying upon what he finds there, this author loyally supports the discoverer "fearless, tireless and ingenious," whose map and writings have proven an encyclopædia of reference.

"At Smith's arrival in London, he was invited by the South Virginia Company to return to their service, but he made use of his engagement with the Plymouth adventurers, who were now negotiating to send an expedition to New England, as an excuse for declining the invitation." From this circumstance, Belknap thinks, the Company had been convinced of Smith's former fidelity, notwithstanding the letters and reports formerly received to his disadvantage.

The ability displayed by Smith in calling attention to the results of his investigations and achievements through

records which have been of more than temporary use, inclines the reader to echo his biographer's words "that it would have given him singular pleasure, if he could have learned from any creditable testimony that Smith ever received any recompense for his numerous services and sufferings."

The Portrait of Capt. John Smith represents him clad in armor, and under it are these verses, which, with his portrait, was printed on his map of New England, 1616.⁶

Such are the lines that show thy face; but those
That show thy grace and glory brighter bee
Thy faire discoveries and fowle overthrowes
Of salvages much civilized by thee,
Best show thy spirit and to it glory win,
So, thou art brasse without, but golde within.

From "Stowes' Survey of London printed 1633" two years after the death of Smith, it is learned, there was a tablet erected to his memory in St. Sepulchres', inscribed with his motto "Vincere est Vivere" and the following verses.

Here lies one conquered that hath conquered Kings
Subdu'd large Territories and done things,
Which to the world impossible would seeme
But that the truth is held in more esteeme.
Shall I report his former service done
In honor of God and Christendome
How that he did divide from Pagans three
Their Heads and Lives, Types of his Chivalry
For which great service in that Climate done
Brave Sigismundus (King of Hungarion)
Did give him, as a coat of arms to weare
These conquer'd heads got by his sword and speare.
Or shall I tell of his adventures since

⁶ Genesis of America, Vol. II. p. 780.



CAPT. JOHN SMITH.

Done in Virginia that large Continen
How that he subdued Kings into his yoke
And made those heathens flie as wind doth smoke
And made their land being of so large a station
A habitation for our Christian nation.
Where God is glorified, their wants supplied
Which else for necessities might have di'd,
But what avails his conquests, now he lyes
Inter'd in earth, a pray for Worms and Flies
O, may his soule in sweet Elizium sleepe
Until the Keeper that all soules doth keepe
Returne to Judgment and that after thence
With angels he may have recompense.⁷

"This tablet was destroyed by the great fire in 1666 and all now remaining to the memory of Capt. Smith is a large flat stone, in front of the communion table engraved with his coat-of-arms. The three Turks' heads are still distinguishable, but in a few more years they will be entirely effaced by the many feet which every Sunday unconsciously trample upon this great man's tomb."⁸

Smith's connection with the Virginia Colony was only for a period of two or three years, but his interest in it continued after he left and he seems to have kept posted about matters there; though he was fated never to return after embarking for England in September, 1610.

⁷ Virginia Historical Register, 1849.

⁸ Campbell, p. 84, citing Godwin's CHURCHES of London, Vol. I. p. 9.

CHAPTER IV.

ROBERT BEVERLEY, THE FIRST NATIVE HISTORIAN. REV.
HUGH JONES.

"Whoever investigates the histories of individuals or communities must expect to be perplexed by numberless inconsistencies."

As a Virginia historian Beverley ranks next in order of time to Smith. The attention he had given to literature, and the responsible offices he held in the colony, well fitted him to write understandingly of what transpired there.

Robert Beverley, of Beverley Park, was the son of Maj. Robert Beverley, formerly of Yorkshire, England, and the brother of Col. Peter Beverley, county-lieutenant of Gloucester. Beverley, the historian, married Ursula,¹ daughter of Col. William Byrd, the elder. Bishop Meade records that he found at Jamestown the tombstone of Ursula, daughter of Byrd and wife of Beverley.

That Beverley was one of the gentlemen who accompanied Gov. Spotswood on his mountain excursion, he tells in the preface to the second edition of his history "I was with the present governor (Spotswood) at the head spring of both those rivers (York and Rappahannock) and their fountains are in the highest ridge of mountains." The several camps at which the party rested were named after the gentlemen of the expedition, the first one being called "Camp Beverley" where "they made great fires, supped and drank good punch."

¹ Ursula, the first wife of Beverley, died in her seventeenth year, 1698; he married secondly, Mary Perrott, and moved early in the 18th century to Middlesex county.

A Burgess in 1699, Beverley was appointed a member of the committee to revise the laws of "this, his majesty's ancient and great colony and dominion of Virginia" together with Edward Hill, Matthew Page, and Benjamin Harrison, members of Council; and Miles Carey, John Taylor, Anthony Armistead, Henry Duke and William Buckner, burgesses.

His father, the persecuted clerk, died in 1687, after having endured great persecutions, sufferings and indignities at the hands of the governors, Culpeper, Effingham, and the deputy-governor, Nicholson. Smarting under the remembrance of these wrongs, Campbell thinks the first edition of his history exhibits Beverley's extreme acrimony against those officers, but in the second edition, when time had mitigated his animosities, many of his accusations against them are omitted.

In his first introduction, Beverley takes pains to explain the cause inducing him to write a history of the Virginia settlement, which he had not contemplated until upon an occasion of being called to England upon his own affairs, and his bookseller's inviting him to overlook a work preparing for printing called "A general account of all his Majesty's Plantations in America" by Oldmixon, the examination of the part relating to Virginia shewed him it was very faulty. This portion, some six sheets of paper, was "an abridgement of some accounts written sixty or seventy years ago, too imperfect to be amended" so Beverley undertook to write an account in justice to so fine a country, because it was so misrepresented.²

² One hundred and forty years later, in preparing his history, Howison warns his readers that Beverley is not always a safe guide and that when he and Oldmixon agree, they are generally both wrong and not to be trusted unless confirmed by some other authority.

Robert Beverley, a clerk of the Assembly, and father of the historian, was subjected to tyrannical persecution and imprisonment, during the second administration of Culpeper, because he refused to give up the papers in his charge without authority from his masters, the House of Burgesses, when an inspection of the journals was demanded by the Council in 1682.

Beverley was detained in prison two years before any prosecution was commenced against him, and this interval was consumed in search for charges; not finding which he was finally pardoned, after Howard, Culpeper's successor, had taken the oath of office. His sufferings during imprisonment and persecutions hastened his death.

The services of Robert Beverley, clerk, were so valued that when the Assembly met, at the call of Howard, they refused to proceed with business for the want of a clerk, as their former one was in prison; and they also refused to elect another in his place. In this situation matters were compromised. James II. deprived the Burgesses of the right of electing their own clerk, ordering the governor to elect him, and requiring the assembly to make the clerk the usual allowance for his services.

Through the similarity of name Grahame confuses the historian with his father, the clerk of the Assembly, and describes him as a native of the province, who had taken an active part in public affairs prior to the English Revolution of 1688; but justly considers him an agreeable annalist, who has appended to his narrative of events an ample account of the institutions of the province and of the manners of the colonial and aboriginal inhabitants.

Only the initial letters of Beverley's name appears on the title page of his book, consequently many mistakes have

been made in regard to the authorship variously supposed to be Bullock, Bird, etc.

"The History of the Present State of Virginia, by R. B., gent.³ published in one volume of Four Parts," was printed first for "R. Parker at the Unicorn, under the Piazzas of the Royal Exchange MDCCV in London, England."

The second edition revised and enlarged by Beverley was printed for F. Fayram and J. Clarke at the Royal Exchange and T. Bickerton in Pater-Noster Row, London, in 1722. The frontispiece is the Colonial coat-of-arms.⁴

Beverley divides his history into 4 parts.

i. The history of the settlement of Virginia and the government there to the year 1706.

ii. The natural productions and conveniences of the country suited to trade and improvement.

iii. The native Indians, their religion, laws and customs in war and peace.

iv. The present state of the country, as to the polity of the government and the improvements of the land to the 10th of June, 1720. By a Native and Inhabitant of the PLACE.

The prints used for illustration were copied from those of one he calls "John Withe, an ingenious painter, who came over with Raleigh's colonists." Campbell, following Beverley says: "during the year the colony passed at Roanoke, Wythe made drawings from nature illustrative of the appear-

³ The mode of adding "gent." after the surname signified that the person to whose name it was applied was of independent means, who had the breeding of a gentleman, as distinct from the laboring class.

⁴ The motto given is the first used "En dat Virginia Quintum" and the engraver S. Gribelin, Sculptor.



COLONIAL COAT-OF-ARMS.

Under the regal government the coat-of-arms of Virginia was one of the most imposing in the colonies. Two knights clad in armor supported a shield on which were quartered the emblems of England, Scotland, Ireland and France and beneath the shield was the honorable motto "En dat Virginia Quintum," originally taken upon the settlement of Virginia. Later "quartam" was substituted for "quintum"—the former being used from the time, 1707, of the union of Scotland with England. Surmounting the quartered shield was the half statue of Pocahontas.—*Grigsby*.

ance and habits of the natives. This artist's pencil supplied materials for the illustrations of the works of De Bry and Beverley."

Allusion has been made to Howison's discredit of Beverley's history; a reason given is that the author "is much affected with the love of royalty and that his sketch of Virginia history is meagre and prejudiced in the first part of his book; but the last part, devoted to her physical condition, agriculture, natural products, laws, manners and aborigines, is spirited and valuable." It offends Howison that Beverley made a hero of Argall, "to whom the colony owes all of its prosperity at the time."

At the time of the republication of his history in 1855, the *Richmond Examiner* regards Beverley as "the very best authority of all early Virginia writers upon the particular subjects delineated in his quaint and agreeable pages, and his work affords the most vivid, comprehensive, instructive and entertaining picture of Virginia at the date of his writing that is to be found."

This edition was reprinted, from the author's second revised London edition of 1722, by J. W. Randolph of Richmond in 1855, with an introduction by Charles Campbell, author of the "*Colonial History of Virginia*." The *Examiner* considers that "Mr Randolph deserves the thanks of the people of Virginia for rescuing her early literature from the oblivion into which it is rapidly falling. The republication of this rare volume—as precious in Virginia history as any genuine old painting of Raphaël or Rembrandt in Art—will prove most gratifying to the Virginia historian and student."

Beverley has the merit of being the first native-born Virginian who, having entered the field of historical writing, published the result of his labour, thus giving his people the

benefit of his knowledge of conditions and occurrences covering an interval of more than a century. It appears singular that Stith ignored this historian, till we reflect that the former author never completed the history he contemplated, and that the part published contained material from fountain sources, supplied by public archives, to which doubtless Beverley could not gain access.

Of the period embraced in his own life, Beverley surely authentic then, became the eye-witness to events and establishments, of which he gave the account.

According to Beverley no cities grew up for a long period. There was the small town of Williamsburg which succeeded Jamestown as the capital,—the colonists dispersing themselves along the banks of the rivers, enjoyed the sweets of rural life. This state of life was highly favorable to those two great sources of national happiness, good morals and the facility of gaining, by industry, a moderate competence and a respectable stake in society.

It was the remarkable and advantageous peculiarity of their local situation, that prevented a people so early devoted to commerce as the Virginians from congregating in large towns and forming crowded marts of trade.

The whole of the country being pervaded by numerous streams, they could load the merchant ships at the doors of their ware-houses.

Impressed with the advantages which the country so liberally held forth to faithful discharge of duty and morality, none needed to despair of a competence; while it is true none found it practicable to amass enormous wealth.

That there was no case of hopeless poverty, Beverley instances a time when a five pound note was left by a charitable testator to the poor of the parish he lived in and it lay nine

years before the executors could find one poor enough to be entitled to any part of this legacy, and at last it was all given to one old woman. "So that this may be termed in truth the best poor man's country in the world."

This historian warmly extols the hospitality of his countrymen, a characteristic, Grahame thinks, "engendered by the peculiar circumstances of their condition, remote from public haunts, unoccupied by a crowd of busy purposes and sequestered from the intelligence of passing events" and this last author here quotes an anecdote, from Hall's "Travels in the United States," as told by Jefferson, that, in his father's time, it was no uncommon thing for gentlemen to post their servants on the main road, for the purpose of amicably waylaying and bringing to their houses, any travellers who might chance to pass.

Earlier hospitality seems to have been more disinterested, for Beverley related that "poor planters who have but one bed will often sit up or lie upon a couch all night to make room for a weary traveller; and if there be one unwilling to comply with this custom he has a mark of Infamy set upon him and is abhorred by all."

Many conditions and habits described by Beverley remained unchanged long after his history was laid aside: and fifty years later, the disregard of Virginia's unwritten law regulating the obligation of hospitality, not altered by time or circumstance, brought upon the offender the censure of the community. The report of such an instance comes through a county sheriff. When locating bounty land Washington made long journeys on horseback, through the country, accompanied only by his body-servant. As he was on one of these lonely rides, one evening towards nightfall, feeling wearied by the day's exertions, he began to look

around for a place of rest. Nearing the manor house of a planter, whom he saw seated on his portico, he rode up to enquire about a near place of entertainment for himself and *beast*. He was told that by going a mile further onward he would find a *Dogbery* where the proprietor would be prepared to accommodate him.

At this period many of the well-to-do people owned what were called Ordinaries, a kind of country inn, patronized by way-farers. Thinking to discover such a place Washington rode on ahead of his servant.

The planter, feeling some curiosity regarding his questioner, called to the "fellow" then passing, to know what gentleman had just accosted him: and was informed that it was *Mister* George Washington. At hearing this name the now would-be host arose and, with much excitement, hallooed to Washington to come back, volunteering the previously withheld invitation, but such tardy hospitality was courteously declined with the reasonable excuse that the distance to the *Dogbery* was then short.

The weary horseman pursued his way until he spied another homestead, where he observed a young girl in the yard; halting here, he repeated his former query. Promptly replying, the girl told him that her father was an old man and an invalid, but he would be pleased to accommodate a stranger, who could find no better place.

His reception here so pleased him, Washington remained in the unpretentious home longer than his wont, and when he left, presented the young lady with a gold piece for her neck-chain, which she afterwards wore in remembrance of the distinguished visitor.

Beverley reports that, in the year 1720 there was a subdivision of the country into twenty-nine counties.

The Method of bounding the counties was with a view to the convenience of having each county limited to a single river, so that each farmer, in one county, might seek his shipping on one river.

There was a division also into necks of land: 1st. Northern Neck between Potowmeck and Rappahannock: this included 1. Lancaster; 2. Northumberland; 3. Westmoreland; 4. Stafford; 5. Richmond; 6. King George.

2d. A Neck between Rappahannock and York Rivers: this included, 1. Gloucester; 2. Middlesex; 3. King and Queen; 4. King William; 5. Essex; 6. Spotsylvania.

3d. A Neck between York and James Rivers: this included, 1. Elizabeth City; 2. Warwick; 3. York; 4. James City; 5. New Kent; 6. Charles City; 7. Hanover, 8. Part of Henrico.

4th. Lands on the South side of James River: this included, 1. Princess Anne; 2. Norfolk; 3. Nansamond; 4. Isle of Wight; 5. Surry; 6. Prince George; 7. Brunswick; 8. The other part of Henrico.

5th. Lands on the Eastern shore: this included, 1. Northampton; 2. Accomack.

There was a third division into districts, according to rivers, appointed for naval officers and collectors of duties. 1st. Upper part of James River from Hog Island upwards. 2d. Lower part of James River, round Point Comfort to Back River. 3d. York, Poquosin, Mobjack Bay and Picanketanck. 4th. Rappahannock. 5th. Potowmeck.

6th. Pocomoke and the other parts on the Eastern shore made two districts, now united in one.

A CONTRIBUTION "FICTIONAL RATHER THAN HISTORICAL."

"Following closely upon the second edition of Beverley came 'The Present State of Virginia' by Hugh Jones, A. M., chaplain to the Honorable Assembly and late minister to Jamestown, in Virginia—a small work of about 150 pages, now very scarce."

"His description of the characteristics of Virginians is a curiosity in its way, and written in a quaint style:"⁵ "The habits, life, customs, computations, etc., of the Virginians, are much the same as about London, which they esteem their home; and for the most part, have contemptible notions of England, and wrong sentiments of Bristol and the other outports, which they entertain from seeing and hearing the common dealers, sailors and servants, that come from these towns, and the country places in England and Scotland, whose language and manners are strange to them.

"For the planters, and even the native negroes, generally talk good English, without idiom or tone, and can discourse handsomely on most common subjects. Conversing with persons belonging to trade and navigation from London, for the most part, they are much civilized; and wear the best of cloaths, according to their stations; nay, sometimes too good for their circumstances, being for the generality, comely, handsome persons, of good features and fine complexions—if they take care,—of good manners and address.

"The climate makes them bright, and of excellent sense and sharp in trade: an idiot or deformed native being almost a miracle. Thus they have good natural notions,

⁵ Howe's "Antiquities" p. 330.

and will soon learn arts and sciences; but are generally diverted, by business or inclination, from profound study and prying into the depth of things; being ripe for management of their affairs before they have laid so good a foundation for learning, and had such instructions and acquired such accomplishments, as might be instilled into such naturally good capacities.

"Nevertheless, through their quick apprehension, they have a sufficiency of knowledge and fluency of tongue, though their learning, for the most part, be but superficial. They are more inclinable to read men by business and conversation than to dive into books and are for the most part, only desirous of learning what is absolutely necessary in the shortest and best method. As for education, several are sent to England for it, though the Virginians, being naturally of good parts, as I have already hinted, neither require nor admire as much learning as we do in Britain; yet more would be sent over, were they not afraid of the smallpox, which most commonly proves fatal to them.

"But indeed when they come to England, they are generally put to learn to persons that know little of their temper, who keep them drudging on what is of least use to them in pedantick methods too tedious for their volatile genius.

"Virginia may be justly esteemed the happy retreat of true Britons and true Churchmen for the most part; neither soaring too high, nor dropping too low, consequently should merit the greater esteem and encouragement."

CHAPTER V.

WILLIAM STITH, PARSON AND WRITER. HIS PRINTER,
PARKS.

"It is in the determination to follow truth that the genuine love of truth is shewn."

However much historians disagree about other authorities, all are unanimous in considering the "History of Virginia" by the Rev. William Stith, a reliable source of information.

This volume contains an accurate recapitulation of recorded occurrences down to the year 1624. We find the author of it described in biography¹ as a candid and accomplished writer, very minute in relating the debates of the Court of Proprietors of the Virginia Company and their disputes with the king, but generally impressive and interesting. "A manly and generous spirit pervades every page of his work, published at Williamsburg in 1747 by William Parks."

William Stith was born in 1689; studied theology and was ordained in England to the established church. Was made Chaplain to the House of Burgesses; later was Rector at Henrico, and President of William and Mary College. He died at Williamsburg September 27, 1755.

"When the county of Henrico was formed, in the year 1634, the Court House was located near the river in the center of the settlement and a portion consisting of two hundred acres of this land, including the Courthouse was

¹ Grahame.



Old St. John's Church, Richmond, Virginia,

laid off for a glebe, to form the parish of Henrico. Not far from the Courthouse, and near to the river, a comfortable parsonage was built of brick for the residence of the parson.

"The last occupant of this parsonage of Varina was the Rev. William Stith, who wrote his history here about the year 1746."²

Stith preached alternately at Four-Mile-Creek Church (so called because it was that distant from Henrico) and at St. John's Church on Richmond Hill,—built in 1740, (and later made notable from the fact that Henry's *liberty* speech was delivered there) still an object of historic interest in a good state of preservation.

Only one instalment of an extended history, planned by Stith, was published, the materials for which were procured from colonial archives, Randolph's Papers, the Records of the London Company and the Byrd Library. Being provided with which this conscientious writer entered in the quiet of his parsonage upon the task he set himself of handing down to posterity the account of his country's foundation. We may believe it was with enthusiasm that he started—upon what seems to have been a labor of love,—constantly refreshed by rich stores of knowledge and doubtless, as the ink dried upon his pages, there was ever an audience of admiring friends, encouraging him to proceed.

But before he had finished one small volume other voices reached his ears, which arrested his pen; and he needed to add a leaf explaining his reason for sending forth his work uncompleted. "Once he intended to have added several other curious papers but perceiving, to his mortification,

²Virginia Historical Register, 1848.

that some of his countrymen (and these persons of Fortune and Distinction) seemed to be much alarmed and to grudge that a complete History of their own Country run to more than one volume and cost them half a Pistole he was obliged therefore to refrain his Hand and only insert a few and necessary Instruments for fear of enhancing the price to the immense charge and irreparable Damage of such generous and public-spirited gentlemen."

For so small a cause this historian's work was shortened, valuable documents were laid away and history, with such an opportunity for enlightenment, comes to us in abbreviated form.

To gain the truth Stith could have told, the earnest historian must now bring to his aid, an erasive pen and tireless eye, to assist a clear brain, in correcting repeated mistakes and in order to make history accessible to the student who has not leisure to delve deeply for the knowledge of matters pertaining to his country's progress.

Having access to authentic and important documents, there appears no reason to doubt the accuracy of anything Stith repeats; had there been, we feel quite assured, that Howison, ever intolerant of error, would have discovered and drawn to such, the attention of his readers. As it is this caustic writer chose Stith as one of his accompanying references to whom he reluctantly bids adieu after the date 1624 with the parting criticism that "he is often harsh and inelegant in style and has crowded his pages with a mass of unimportant matter, but he is rigidly accurate and his love of freedom, entitles him to our sincere respect."

Published in one volume, Stith divides his work into five books, with Appendix. His opening sentence gives the date of his writing "It is now an hundred and forty years

since the Discovery and Settlement of the Colony." From this introduction he proceeds to state his reason for entering upon such a labor. "I need not say how empty and unsatisfactory every thing yet published upon the Subject is excepting the *excellent* but confused Materials left us by Capt. Smith's History, which is large and good and of unquestionable Authority for what is related whilst he staid in the Country.

"Had anything of consequence been done in our History I could most willingly have saved myself the Trouble of conning over old musty Records."

A keen interest in his Country's history caused him to gather together the chronicles while he was "enjoying perfect Leisure and Retirement" in the evening of his life. He was very fortunate in procuring material "I have the Sight and Perusal of many excellent Materials in my hands." To begin with he finds among his *relative*, Sir John Randolph's (Stith's mother was a Miss Randolph and also his wife) effects, a collection, that he was convinced Randolph had made for historical purposes.

Considering it the duty of an historian to "paint Men and Things in their true and lively colours" this "accurate, judicious and faithful compiler," makes a list of the records he obtained, with their claim to consideration, and just here he informs the reader that "Byrd's library is the best and most copious Collection of Books in our Part of America."

An example of his painstaking explanation occurs in "The Records of the Antiquities of our Country, Proceedings from Day to Day" which he states are in two large Folio Volumes on a kind of Elephant Paper. Each page subscribed by Edw. Collingwood, the Company's Secretary,

thus; Com. Collingwood (I take it,) compared, Collingwood. A testification at the end of each Volume. The *first* under the Hands of Edward Waterhouse and Edward Collingwood, Secretaries of the two Companies for Virginia and Somers Islands, that they had compared them with original Court Book, perfect except the omission of one Court and part of the other. The 2d Vol. signed by Edw. Collingwood and Thomas Collet of the Middle Temple, testifying the same except in a few immaterial points. These volumes only contain the Company's Proceedings for a little above five years from April 28, 1619, to June 7, 1624, during the whole time of Sandys and the earl of Southampton's administration: Giving at length the chief Speeches, Reasons and Debates that happened in their Courts—a Period of vast Contest and Dispute—referring back to accounts of the Proceedings of the Company almost from its first institution." Stith supposed the original of these carefully preserved records had been destroyed and only this copy was then extant.

In the Appendix to the "first part of the History of Virginia" Stith states that the Collection of Charters were still extant and "as they were never legally revoked, are therefore important." The "First Charter, To Sir Thos. Gates, Sir Geo. Somers and others, for two several colonies, was dated April 6, 1606."

The "Second Charter, To the Treasurer and Company uniting them into a corporation and body politic, was dated March 23, 1609."

The "Third Charter, to the Treasurer and Company, March 12, 1611-12."

The "Fourth Charter for a Council of State, July 24, 1621."

Stith had seen four copies of the two first charters: one among the records in the Secretary's office mangled and defaced; another, in the Council office tolerably legible; a third in a fair book of Records belonging to the House of Burgesses; the fourth and most correct he found among John Randolph's papers, transcribed by his clerk from different copies. One copy of the third charter was in Randolph's Collections. The fourth charter he got from the book in the clerk's office in the House of Burgesses.

From their extreme rareness Stith could not get sight of Raleigh's "Letters Patent" in Hakluyt's "Collection of Voyages."

The "History of the Discovery and Settlement of Virginia being an Essay towards a General History of this Colony by Wm. Stith, A. M., Rector of Henrico Parish and one of the Governors of William and Mary College, Williamsburg. Printed by Wm. Parks, (MDCCXLVII.)" contains in its pages among other important records King James the First's, second Charter to the Treasurer and Company for Virginia, erecting them into a Corporation and Body politic and for the further enlargement and Explanation of the Privileges of the said Company and first Colony of Virginia. Dated May 23, 1609. 7. James. 29 Articles.

We have formerly by our letters patent, etc., * * * (first charter).

II. Forasmuch as sundry of our loving subjects already engaged intend to prosecute the same to a happy end (desiring) a further enlargement (additional) Councillors and other Officers, whose Dwellings are not so remote from the city of London but they may be ready at hand to give Advice and Assistance, etc. * * * *

III. We greatly affecting the effectual Prosecution * *
for Encouragement of so excellent a Work, give, grant and
confirm to our trusty subjects whether they go in their
Persons to be Planters there or adventure their Monies
and shall have perpetual succession, etc. * * * *

Every planter and Adventurer to be inserted in the
Patent by name.

VI. Limits * * * those Lands, Countries and Terri-
tories, situate in that part of America called Virginia, from
the Point Comfort, along the sea north 200 miles to the
South from said Point 200 miles up into the land from sea
to sea, west and northwest, also the islands along the coast
of both seas of the Precinct aforesaid * * * *

XIV. Form of government, * * * *

XVII. Licence to travaile (travel) to Virginia * * *

XX. Intruders (expelled) * * * *

XXIV. Martial law * * * *

XXIX. Guarding against superstition * * * *

Stith finds the Adventurer's Names vastly confused and
different in the different manuscript copies of this charter.
"I chose the two fairest and most correct that I have met
with to transcribe this from and although they both agree
in writing the Name, Sir *Edward Sands* or *Sandis*, yet they
are both certainly wrong as might be easily proved, were
it worth while and would not be too tedious.

"I was also much puzzled to adjust and settle others
of the Names and although I was at no small Pains in
collating the copies and in consulting and referring to other
ancient Letters, Papers and Patents, yet I will not affirm
that I am not often mistaken. But however erroneous
and perplexed the Names of the Adventurers may be, yet
I found the main Body and material Parts of the Charter.
very clear, full and correct."

This complete charter (in Hening's Statutes at Large I. pp. 80-98 and in Stith's Appendix, No. 11. 8-22) with full lists of private subscribers (659 persons) and corporations (56 city companies of London) is reprinted in Alex. Brown's "Genesis of America" Vol. I. pp. 208-237,—1890.

Brown³ states that this charter—first published in Stith's History of Virginia, 1747;—was drafted by Sir Edwin Sandys, assisted by Lord Bacon.

The Council in England having been convinced that there were sundry errors in the form of government under the first charter, determined to ask for a new one. Hakluyt mentions one of the "Solemne meetings at which Master Thomas Heriot was present in consultation with the managers of the enterprise," while they were exerting themselves to procure a change of patent.

Concerning Parks, who printed Stith's history, we find that the first newspaper printed in the colony "The Virginia Gazette" a sheet 12 in. by 6 in.. was issued by Wm. Parks at Williamsburg, August 6, 1736, at fifteen shillings per annum.

His announcement read "I am induced to set forth weekly newspapers here, in this ancient and best settled Colony not doubting to meet with as good encouragement as others." His paper was under the influence of the government, and when he died in 1750 the paper was discontinued for a time. It was a small sheet of dingy paper but well printed.

In 1740 Parks printed a work called "Family Devotion or an Exhortation to morning and evening Prayers in Families, with two forms of prayer suited to those seasons and also fitted for the use of one person in private. To

³ Genesis of America Vol. 1. pp. 206-207

which are now added two Shorter Forms to be used by children and servants, when they cannot conveniently be present at the Family Prayers. First drawn up for the Use of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Lambeth and now Revised and Enlarged by the Right Reverend Father in God, Edmund, Lord Bishop of London."

Printed in Williamsburg by William Parks.

As a Church Warden of Bruton Parish in 1749 Parks, together with Thos. Dawson, Clerk, John Custis, John Blair, Thomas Jones, Peyton Randolph, Thomas Cobbs, Henry Tyler, Matthew Pierce, Lewis Burwell, and Benj. Waller received in trust from one Mary Whaley, through her heir-at-law, Mann Page, a certain parcel of land by estimation ten acres—"to them as church wardens for the time being and their successors, for the use mentioned in her last Will and Testament." Recorded in York County.

Besides Stith's History, Parks printed the Laws of Virginia. Campbell notes the earliest surviving evidence of printing, done in Virginia, as the edition of the Revised Laws, published in 1733, doubtless alluding to Parks' work.

In connection with the data Stith procured from the effects of Sir John Randolph, for his history, a reference to the standing of this officer in the colony, may be of interest.

History defines his position, as "Speaker of the House of Burgesses, treasurer of the colony, representative of William and Mary College and recorder for the borough of Norfolk."⁴

With extraordinary talents, he united extensive learning, a love of which early evinced, was improved by the instruc-

⁴ Also Randolph was sent on a mission to London in 1732; later he was knighted and made attorney-general.



SIR JOHN RANDOLPH.

tion of a Protestant clergyman, a French refugee; completing his education at William and Mary college, he studied law at Gray's Inn and the Temple, and returning to Virginia, soon distinguished himself at the bar.

At the meeting of the Assembly in August 1736 composed of sixty burgesses, Randolph was elected speaker. The next day he was presented to the governor⁵ to whom he made an address, giving a concise history of the constitution of Virginia from the first period of arbitrary government and martial law to the charter granted by the Virginia company, establishing an Assembly, consisting of a council of state and a house of burgesses, which legislative constitution was confirmed by James I., Charles I. and their successors.

In March, 1737, the Honorable Sir John Randolph, Knight, died and was interred in the chapel of the college at Williamsburg, his body being borne there by six "honest, industrious, poor housekeepers" of Bruton Parish, who had twenty pounds divided between them. "An elegant marble tablet, graced with a Latin inscription" placed to his memory, was destroyed by the fire which consumed the college in 1860.⁶

Stith made his investigations among the papers of which Randolph had made a collection.

⁵ Gov. Wm. Gooch.

⁶ Campbell.

CHAPTER VI.

A NOTABLE TRIO OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.—

BURK. HENING. JEFFERSON.

"Our past is as much a part and parcel of today, as the marks we bear in our bodies are portions of ourselves, no matter how we came by them, nor when."

"The History of Virginia, from its first settlement to the present day" was published in 1804 by John Burk, an Irishman by birth, who emigrated to Virginia and practiced as attorney-at-law in Petersburg.

Three volumes only of his history were completed, bringing it down to the commencement of the American Revolution; at this stage of his work, a political dispute with a Frenchman terminated in a duel, when Burk was killed.

The history was then taken up by Skelton Jones, who contributed about sixty-five pages; when Louis Hue Girardin, a Frenchman, (for a long while a teacher in Virginia) undertook to continue it, and having taken up his abode near *Monticello*, Mr. Jefferson supplied him with a large amount of Mss. matter: "yet the work is prolix and uninviting, read by few and sought by none who look merely for entertainment." In a work intended to be confined to Virginia he undertook to introduce a complete history of the Revolutionary war, yet closes his history with the siege of York.¹

"Girardin displays an extravagant admiration for Jefferson; doubtless this feeling caused him to carry on Burk's

¹ Howison, Vol II. p. 279.

work which was dedicated 'to Thomas Jefferson, as the guardian and patron of Virginia History, the best and most useful citizen in the republic, by his fellow-citizen, Burk.'" These first three volumes were printed by Dickson and Pescud in Petersburg, 1804. The fourth volume by Girardin was not published till 1816.

Burk was assisted by two large Mss. containing the minutes of the London Company, together with the proceedings of the Virginia Councils and Assembly to the middle of the reign of George II.; "a mine of information and the only copies, in existence." The documents were kept in public offices.

"The library of William and Mary College contained the record of lives and manners (a Debt which their ancestors have paid to posterity) giving a lively picture of the customs of each age;—the transition of mind from barbarism to taste,—from tyranny to freedom."

A vivid picture is drawn of the fatality attending the attempts at settlement;—of the forlornness of the colony, separated as it was from the world and embosomed in forests; though they found a country which might claim prerogative over the most pleasant places known. The union of ardor and patience in Smith, (in his efforts to fulfil his obligations to the Company and preserve the colony,) must strike the most inattentive observer.

Howison objects strenuously to Burk's manner of writing; and though he considers the scene of Smith's rescue from captivity, "one which rivals the most romantic pages in the history of the world," yet he thinks Burk's account of it, inflated and declamatory; and in this author's description of Powhatan's coronation and that chief's obstinacy about assuming any appearance of humility,—Howi-

son's irritation becomes so intense he holds Burk's nationality as responsible for the characteristic style, saying "Burk's *Irish* bosom swells with pride, and with his bosom swells his language." Yet his critic unremittingly quotes Burk.

Burk is instigated in writing his work by the knowledge of "several circumstances, which render the History of Virginia of interest and curiosity.

"Being the first permanent British settlement here we must look for those ancient documents and materials, whose discovery throw light on the history of the other states.

"It was the elder branch of a confederacy which threw down the gauntlet to kings; the asylum of oppressed humanity; faithful guardian and depositary of public spirit.

"The materials diminishing, there has been made a chasm in public records,—and history is often silent."

This author undertakes "to keep clear of the correct though tedious circumstantiality of Stith" whom he considers "faithful, as far as he goes; his work only found in the libraries of the curious."

Also he avoids "the hasty, obscure brevity of Beverley, a mere annalist of petty incidents, without method; and an apologist of power."

Sir William Keith he finds more diffuse, more graceful and correct, indulging a little more in detail.

As to Smith, his work is "a sort of epic history or romance and his achievements are recounted in the spirit with which he fought. His Narrative *discovers* good sense, occasionally, and raises interest. The ground work altogether contains a mass of valuable matter."

The highest tribute to Burk's work comes from Hening in his *Statutes*, which are among the most valuable contributions to Virginia historical records.

Pursuant to an Act of the General Assembly of Virginia, passed on the 5th of February, 1808,--William Waller Hening published his "*Statutes-at-Large*" which were printed completely in the second edition in 1823 by R. & W. & G. Barton, New York, a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia from the first session of the Legislature in 1619.

The Preface to the first edition he writes in Richmond, on August 29, 1809, which is as follows:

"Whether I shall render an acceptable service to my native state in furnishing the only authentic materials for its early history which have hitherto been published and which display alike the virtues and vices, the wisdom and folly of our ancestors, I am at a loss to conjecture.

"Until we come to the *laws* of a nation it is impossible to form a correct idea of its civil polity or of the state of society.

"The colony having been planted long after the revival of letters in Europe, as well as the general introduction of the use of the press, it might have been expected that everything relating to our early history would have been carefully preserved.

"But though we have existed as a nation but little more than two hundred years, our public offices are destitute of official documents, and it is to the pious care of individuals only, that posterity will be indebted for those lasting monuments, which perpetuate the patient sufferings of the colonists. All papers except a few fragments, deposited

in the archives of the Council of State, and other public offices, were committed to the flames by the myrmidons of George III.

"In the infancy of our legislation the laws were few and simple, relating chiefly to church government, to the culture of tobacco and other staple commodities, and to operations against the Indians.

"There was rich treasure of information relating to the state of society among the first settlers: their religious intolerance, rise, progress and the establishment of our civil institutions: political events, affording lessons of things worthy to be imitated or shunned.

"Rays of light are reflected by Mr. Burk, from scanty materials in his possession, on that portion of history.

"During the existence of the Commonwealth of England, the whole period is in darkness or inaccurately represented by every historian who professes to depict it during this period.

"Governors were all elected by the House of Burgesses in pursuance of powers vested in them, by provisional articles of government adopted at the surrender.

"The Commerce of Virginia was more free than that of the Mother Country.

"The Assembly took the powers of government in their own hands, and all writs were issued in the name of the Grand Assembly.

"Between the resignation of Richard Cromwell and the restoration of Charles II. in 1660, when there was no resident, absolute and general confessed power in England, (by the second Act of the Assembly) Sir Wm. Berkeley was appointed governor.

"In 1630 the contents of a barrel of corn was fixed at five bushels, Winchester measure.

"In 1643 the first act for regulating lawyers, to have a license, was passed.

"The acts of each session (in manuscript only) were promulgated by being read to the people at the beginning of every monthly court and copies deposited in the clerk's office for inspection. Every settlement or plantation being entitled to as many representatives, as the inhabitants thought proper to elect, on their return home, they communicated to their neighbors the substance of the laws passed.

"In 1773 an edition of laws was printed in London without date, called "Purvis' Collection." A second edition of Purvis, bound with blank leaves for additions, but *grossly inaccurate*, was printed.

"There was an Abridgement of the Laws of Virginia written in 1722, *ascribed to Beverley* and published in 1728.

"The first revisal of Virginia laws was in 1642-3. In March 1657-8 there was another revisal. In March 1661-2 there was another revisal. One object of this year's revisal (1661-2) was 'to keep in memory their forced deviation from his majesty's obedience.'

"The next revisal was in 1705. All of these exist in manuscript except Purvis'.

"Beverley's and Mercer's abridgements were not revisals. In the mode adopted for the revision of the laws, their history and progress were lost.

"A committee;—George Wythe, John Brown, John Marshall, Bushrod Washington and John Wickham,—was formed to collect all laws and clauses of laws and publish an edition of one thousand copies.

"But Thomas Jefferson contributed more than any other to the preservation of our ancient laws.

"Until the reign of Queen Anne the English language was extremely variable; the best informed men would spell the same words differently.

"In March 1660-1 the number of burgesses was limited to two for each county and one for the metropolis, James City.

"The members of the Assembly were selected according to the required standard as persons of known integrity, good conversation and of twenty-one years of age.

"The right of suffrage was limited to freeholders.

"Bridges and ferries were first made a public expense, but the law was repealed, and county courts were vested with power to establish ferries, upon the application of individuals.

"Assembly exercised the law establishing them but in the year 1806 this power was restored to the county courts."

In the preface to the second edition of the Statutes, written January 30, 1823, Hening gives an account of the progress of his work.

"By the act of February 5, 1808, authorizing the editor to publish the Statutes and prescribing the mode of authentication, 150 copies were subscribed for on behalf of the commonwealth; which added to the 200 copies printed for the use of the editor's subscribers, made the impression 350 copies only. Under this subscription the work progressed to the end of the fourth vol., when the interruptions produced by the late war, and the death of the publisher, Mr. Samuel Pleasants, Junior,² occasioned its suspension. When the committee on the Revised Code of 1819,

² First printer of Statutes.—At Large

reported to the legislature, they so strongly recommended the continuation of the Statutes, that the Act of March 10, 1819, was passed. By this act, the subscription on the part of the state was increased to 800 copies, but no provision was made for completing the sets of the first four volumes. The first having been long out of print and the state having a large surplus of the fifth and subsequent volumes, the act of January 24, 1823, was passed which provided for completing the set, and appropriated the proceeds of the sales of 500 copies under the superintendence of the executive, to the purchase of a public library. In the first Edition commencing p. 238, the caption of the acts states them to have been taken from a Mss. belonging to Edmund Randolph, Esq. The volume was received from that gentleman, by the editor, who understood it to be his property. But from two letters addressed to the editor by Thomas Jefferson, Esq., late President of the United States, the one dated April 25, 1815, the other September 3, 1820, there was such conclusive evidence that the Mss. belonged to him and had been borrowed from his library by Edmund Randolph, Esq., when he contemplated writing a history of Virginia that it has been sent to the library of Congress with the other Mss. included in Mr. Jefferson's Catalogue. The error has been corrected in this volume. (Vol. I. Ed. 2d., 1823.)"

Hening printed his first volume, ending 1660, from manuscript.

An issue of the Virginia Gazette of 1739 advertized: "A Continuation of the Abridgement of the Public Acts of the Assembly of Virginia, by John Mercer, gent. containing the Acts of the last Session of the Assembly and such Precedents

as were omitted in the former Abridgment: with Directions for the better understanding of the several Tables and for altering such clauses of the former Acts as are repealed or in any way interfere with the Laws of the last Session. August 31st, September 7, 1739." The issue announces that this book had just been printed.

John Mercer, born in Dublin in 1704, was a distinguished lawyer, who settled in Marlborough, Stafford County, a town authorized by the Assembly. He was the author of an Abridgment of the Laws of Virginia, "the first digested code printed in Virginia, of which editions were printed at Williamsburg in 1737, and at Glasgow in the year 1759."

In the rich materials found in subsequent years in Mss. records of the period from 1656 to 1660, of which Hening availed himself,³ among other items is the list of names of the men composing the "Assembly which asserted principles of liberty, not exceeded even by American visions of the nineteenth century."

MEMBERS.

Henrico.

Major Wm. Harris.

James City.

Mr. Henry Soane,
Major Richard Webster,
Mr. Thomas Loveinge,
Mr. Wm. Corker.

Surry.

Lieut. Col. Thomas Swarm,
Mr. William Edwards,
Major William Butler,
Capt. William Cawfeild.

New Kent.

William Blacky.

³ Hening I. pp. 429-431. "in no period of the colonial records under the Commonwealth are the materials so copious."

Gloster.

Lieut. Col. Anthony Elliott,
Capt. Thomas Ramsey.

Rappahannoc.

Mr. Thomas Lucas.

Lancaster.

Col. John Carter,
Mr. Peter Montague.

Isle of Wight.

Major John Bond,
Mr. Thomas Tabenor,
Mr. John Brewer,
Mr. Joseph Bridger.

Charles City.

Mr. William Horsmenden,
Capt. Robert Wynne.

Upper Norfolk.

Left. Col. Edward Carter,
Mr. Thomas Francis,
Mr. Giles Webb.

Lower Norfolk.

Col. John Sidney,
Major Lemuell Masonn.

Elizabeth City.

Major William,
Mr. John Powell.

Warwick.

John Smith, Speaker,
Thomas Davis.

Yorke.

Mr. Jeremy Hain,
Mr. Robert Borne.

Northumberland.

Mr. Peter Knight,
Mr. John Haney.

Northampton.

Mr. William Kendall,
Mr. William Mellinge,
Capt. William Michell,
Mr. Randall Revell,
Mr. John Willcox.

The writings of Jefferson are of much popular interest,—some being of a descriptive nature. His political writings lay down those Jeffersonian principles of government, so prized today.

Tucker's biography gives in full the writing of Jefferson's "Notes."

"Immediately after Tarleton's incursion to Charlottesville, Mr. Jefferson retired* 'with his family to Poplar Forest,

* Tarleton entered Charlottesville four days after Mr. Jefferson's term as governor expired. Howe p. 167.

Bedford county, where riding over his farm, he was thrown from his horse and seriously injured. While confined in consequence of this fall, he occupied himself with answering the queries which Mons. de Marbois, secretary of the French legation² to the United States had submitted to him, respecting the physical and political condition of



MONTICELLO—Seat of Thomas Jefferson.

Virginia; which answers were afterwards published by him, under the title of 'Notes on Virginia.' These notes were printed in Paris in 1784, soon after his arrival there, as minister to the court of France. He had wished to publish them in America, but was prevented by the expense: in France the cost was about one-fourth. He corrected and enlarged them and printed 200 copies, presenting a few in Europe and sending the rest to America.

"One copy falling into the hands of a bookseller in Paris, he had it translated into French, and submitted the translation to the author for revision. It was a tissue of blunders, of which only the most material were corrected, and thus

² Then in Philadelphia.

printed. A London bookseller having requested permission to print the English original he consented, 'to let the World see that it was not really so bad as the French translation had made it appear.'"

"These notes are still reckoned among the most agreeable of Jefferson's works.⁵"

Jefferson's "Notes" divide Virginia into four sections:

"The first,—the alluvial section from the seacoast to the head of tidewater.

"The second,—the hilly or undulating section, from the head of tidewater to the Blue Ridge.

"The third,—the valley section, lying between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies.

"The fourth,—the Trans-Alleghany or western section, the waters of which flow into the Ohio river.

"The mountains of Virginia are arranged in ridges one behind another, nearly parallel to the seacoast, rather bearing toward it to the northeast. The name Appalachian, borrowed from the country bordering on the Gulf of Mexico to the southwest, was applied to the mountains of Virginia in different ways by the European maps, but none of these ridges were ever known to the Virginia inhabitants by that name.

"The mountains extend from northeast to southwest, as also do limestone, coal and other geological strata. So also range the falls of the principal rivers, the courses of which are at right angles with the line of the mountains, the James and Potomac making their way through all the ridges eastward of the Alleghany range.

The Alleghanies are broken by no water courses, being the spine of the country between the Atlantic and the Mississippi."

⁵ Howison Vol. II p. 467.

Of the bitterness of religious intolerance, Jefferson writes that, "By the time of the Revolution a majority of the inhabitants had become dissenters from the established religion, but were still obliged to pay contributions towards the support of its pastors. This unrighteous compulsion to maintain teachers of what they deemed religious errors, was grievously felt during the regal government."

At the first session in 1776 of the legislature, under the new constitution, Mr. Jefferson drafted and supported a law for the relief of the dissenters, which in a modified form finally passed. It declared all acts of Parliament which prescribe the maintenance of any opinions in matters of religion, the forbearing to repair to church, or the exercising any mode of worship whatsoever, to be of no validity within the commonwealth; it exempted dissenters from all contributions for the support of the established church. To protect the rights of conscience, it was not deemed enough to remove past injustice, but it was thought prudent to prevent its recurrence: therefore Mr. Jefferson introduced the act of religious freedom, which aimed to give its principles permanence. For several years there was no legislation upon this bill, but when finally it came up for discussion, after some opposition and some slight alterations, it passed without difficulty: and when, in 1801, the overseers of the poor in each county were authorized to sell all the glebe lands, as soon as they became vacant by the death or removal of the incumbent, the last vestige of privilege, of the established church over other sects was completely eradicated.⁷

⁷ Howe's *Miscellanies* p. 143.



Th. Jefferson

Of the many-sided citizen, Jefferson,—the writer of physical and political Notes and of the Declaration of Independence; the champion of religious freedom; the patron of sciences and preserver of laws; the architect of buildings, and the father of Virginia University,—it has been said, that the greatest good, he ever achieved for his country, was when he gained, by bloodless conquest, the Louisiana country.

CHAPTER VII.

LATE HISTORIANS. HOWE. HOWISON. CAMPBELL.

"Education is necessary to national happiness and history must teach by a proper selection and arrangement of facts."

A history differing from those preceding it,—in the division of its parts,—comes from the pen of Henry Howe, who wrote and published other state histories. The one of Virginia, written about 1845, is in three divisions:—

1. The Outline; in which he follows Bancroft quite closely.
2. Miscellanies; furnished from various sources; traditional, historical and statistical.
3. Antiquities; embracing county formations, alphabetically arranged, and many curious incidents connected with their histories, together with sketches of some of the inhabitants.

In preparing his subject matter Howe found Charles Campbell, author of the Colonial History of Virginia, a gentleman better informed upon the history of Virginia than any one he had met in the course of his investigations. About that time Campbell was contributing historical articles to the Southern Literary Messenger and doubtless supplied Howe with some of these publications.

The condensed form of the Outline based upon such unquestioned authority; the descriptive features and statistics of the Miscellanies, and the free illustration of the Antiquities, together with its fictional features, makes of the whole an interesting history, conveniently arranged.

Following his special work on Virginia,—the mother of states,—Howe published "The Great West" which contains narratives of important and entertaining events, remarkable adventures, sketches of frontier life and descriptions of natural curiosities,—a volume enabling the reader to accompany the pioneers emigrating to Kentucky county, ceded later by Virginia to form a separate state,—which combines romance and history in its association of individual experience with the governmental institutions.

Unfamiliarity with family history betrayed Howe into several blunders, which may be discovered by comparison of the different parts with each other. In descriptions of the siege at Yorktown he several times introduces members of the Nelson family. Of this family, Campbell states, there were two brothers, Thomas, who, having acted for a long time as Secretary of the Council, was known as Secretary Nelson; this Nelson had *three sons*, who were officers in the Revolutionary army. William Nelson, the brother of Thomas, was president of the Council and in 1770, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony; died in 1772, aged 61, leaving a large estate. President Nelson also had sons¹ in the Revolutionary army; one of these, Thomas, was conspicuous both as general of militia and governor of the State. The Secretary and President Nelson both seem to have built handsome homes in Yorktown but at the time of the siege President Nelson had been dead² ten years.

Howe gives a description of "the Nelson mansion erected by the Hon. William Nelson, which, during the Revolution, was the property of Governor Thomas Nelson,

¹ Howison p. 267 says William and Robert were captured near Charlottesville by Tarleton.

² Howe records this.

his son. During the siege of York, the house was bombarded by the American troops. Gov. Nelson, then in Washington's army, had command of the first battery, which opened upon the town. Rightly supposing it (the Nelson house) was occupied by some of the British officers, he pointed the first gun against his own dwelling and offered a reward to the soldiers of five guineas, for every bomb-shell that should be fired into it."³

Under the heading "Hanover county" (page 295) "an interesting notice" is given from the "Travels" of Marquis de Chastallux,—“The Marquis arrived about noon at Offley, the seat of the then ex-Gov. Nelson * * * * * whose acquaintance he made at the siege of York * * * He describes the venerable ex-secretary Nelson, *father* of Gov. Nelson, whose elegant house, being occupied by Lord Cornwallis during the siege, was at last entirely destroyed by the cannon shot of the Americans. The *two sons* of the secretary were in the American army and sent a flag to the British general requesting permission for their father to leave the town; which request Cornwallis humanely granted.”

In his account of the first custom house Campbell states that it stood near the handsome home of Secretary Nelson at Yorktown. The Secretary had retired from public affairs upon the breaking out of the Revolution, but was living in his house, which stood near the defensive works, when Cornwallis made his headquarters there. The place soon attracted the attention of the French artillery and was almost entirely demolished. Secretary Nelson was in it when the first shot killed one of his negroes at a little distance from him. What increased his solicitude was

³ Howe p. 521, York Co."



First Custom House in United States and nearby, Secretary Nelson's house

that he had two sons in the American army, so that every shot, whether fired from the town or the trenches, might prove equally fatal to him.

"When a flag was sent in to request that he might be conveyed within the American lines, one of his sons was observed gazing wistfully at the gate of the town by which his father, then disabled by gout, was to come out. Cornwallis permitted his withdrawal, and he was taken to Washington's headquarters. Upon alighting, with a serene countenance, he related to the officers, who stood around him, what had been the effect of their batteries and how much his mansion had suffered from the first shot."⁴

Howe⁵ narrates Secretary Nelson's adventures after his servant was killed. "Cornwallis' headquarters were originally in a splendid brick house, belonging to Secretary Nelson, the ruins of which are now visible in the large and continuous redoubt constructed by the British at the end of the town. He (the Secretary) remained there until a servant was killed, when he removed into the town. Fifty or sixty yards from his dwelling, on the hillside, at the lower end of the redoubt, he had a cave excavated in the earth: it was hung with green baize and used solely for holding councils of war.

"There is a cave in the solid mass of stone marl which forms the river bank, *improperly* called Cornwallis' Cave. This was used for a sutlery: it is now a piggery.

"When the storm burst upon Virginia in 1781, Thomas Nelson, then governor, was employed in effecting plans to

⁴ Campbell p. 747.

⁵ p. 530.

oppose the enemy, but was compelled to unite in himself the two offices of governor and commander of the military forces."

Girardin says "the first balls from the cannon trained upon Governor Nelson's home, pierced its sides and killed two officers then sitting at table, and in a short time the house was cut to pieces by the fire."

From the several accounts it may be inferred that Cornwallis made his headquarters in Secretary Nelson's home while some of his officers had possession of the deserted home of Governor Nelson, both places being destroyed during the siege. Afterwards the Marquis de Chastallux seems to have met the aged Secretary in the country home of his nephew, Gov. Thomas Nelson.

Another discrepancy occurs in Howe's explanations of the term "Old Dominion" as applied to Virginia, the result of his quoting authorities which differed in their accounts: that in the Outline appears to be regarded as authentic, while the tradition of the Miscellanies is disputed by many and positively denied by Hening.

At the close of his Virginia volume, Howe devotes a few pages to the District of Columbia, illustrating those pages with some of the Capital's famous structures.

"The History of Virginia from its Discovery and Settlement by Europeans to the Present Time" published in two volumes,—is dedicated by its author, Robert R. Howison "To the People of Virginia," and was issued in 1846 by Carey & Hart of Philadelphia. Only after he had completed the first volume did the author realize the immense amount of labor required to finish the work he had undertaken, and therefore he was uncertain

about the completion of the second volume. In the first volume, "he had endeavored to draw from the purest fountains of light, the rays of which he sought to shed upon his subject and had laboured with earnestness in examining, sifting and comparing the evidence, upon which he relied, verifying every material statement of fact by reference to the original authority, in order to guide those who might wish to test the accuracy of his work."

Howison confides to his reader that he was induced, by a sense of his own ignorance, to turn his thoughts to the sources from which might be drawn knowledge concerning his native state. Considering that its history deserved to be studied, he found that its *infancy* was attended by events which have imparted to her, all the interest that the romance of real life can afford; in her very *childhood* she presented a model of those republican governments which have since yielded happiness to millions in the western hemisphere; and in more *mature* years she contributed by her statesmen, her precepts, and her example, to give character to the great Confederacy of which she is a member.

Howison divides his history into four parts: 1. To embrace the period from Discovery and Settlement to the Dissolution of the London Company, 1624. 2. From 1624 to the Peace of Paris in 1763. 3. From 1763 to the Adoption, by Virginia, of the Federal Constitution, 1788. 4. From 1788 to the present time (1846.)

This author considers "among the writers, who have devoted attention to her progress, some of their works possess merit which ought to have introduced them to general notice: but they have been read by the few, and neglected by the many. The Histories of Smith, Beverley,

Keith, Stith, Burke and Campbell⁶ are either entirely out of print or so nearly so that they cannot be obtained without much difficulty.

"While it is true that Virginians in the mass have never been a *reading people*, still from the settlement to the present time, men have lived in Virginia, who have loved learning with sacred affection, exceeded by none. In 1621, while George Sandys was in the Colony, he entertained his leisure hours in translating the work published in 1632 under the title of "Ovid's Metamorphoses, Englished, mythologized and represented in figures." Sandys was one of the scholars of the day, and a few time-worn copies of his book may yet be found in Virginia.

"In modern years William Munford translated another great poem of antiquity, Homer's "Iliad," into English blank verse, which, though left complete at his death in 1825, was not published until 1846. It was printed in Boston, in two elegant octavo volumes. The reader who knows only English, and who wishes to know how and what Homer really wrote, should read Munford's translation.

"Many light fragments by massive minds add to Virginia's literary stores. William Wirt's *British Spy* has long been admired and the letters of John Randolph of Roanoke, while they have not increased his fame, are interesting from association.

"Virginia's Earliest History, a confused mass of information, takes its name from John Smith, and beyond denial; the best parts are from Smith's own pen." Howison gives a specimen of the poetry with which the writers in

⁶ The Campbell to whom reference is made was J. W. Campbell, the father of the historian, Charles Campbell, who published a history in 1860. The elder Campbell wrote a small but valuable work on Virginia, published in 1813.

Smith's history have besprinkled their narratives. "They entertained him with most strange and fearefull conjurations:

"As if neare led to hell,

Amongst the Devils to dwell." (Smith I, p. 160)

Attention is drawn to a strange anachronism which occurs in the original account of Smith's sending two Englishmen and four Germans to build a house for Powhatan, when they are said to have left Jamestown on December 29, 1608, and yet we are told afterwards that they spent their Christmas among the Indians. But that this champion of Smith's deserts does not intend to reflect discredit upon any act or statement of one he calls the hero of Virginia, we clearly perceive, for alluding to Smith's letter to the Queen, "which produced the happy effect of exciting her sympathies in behalf of Pocahontas" he says "did nothing remain to us of his writings except this letter written in the true spirit of an English gentleman, it would suffice to give us an insight into his character, frank, modest and manly."

Referring to Smith's penetrations, and surveys, from which he prepared his map of astonishing accuracy and extent, Howison grows eloquent over what was then accomplished, saying it would be pleasing to follow Smith into every creek, to land upon every island—to mark each green valley—to commingle with the natives and learn their language and manners, as in those two summer voyages he awed the war-like by his courage, conciliated the peaceful by his gentleness and discovered the exhaustless resources of the land, while exposed to wind and weather, insubordination of his crew, and the treachery of the savages; but this would give Smith undue proportion of history. In justify-

ing the seizure of land, our author believes the law of nature could not be held to give to a handful of savages thinly scattered over an immense tract of land—where they hunted much and cultivated little, a right to exclude civilized settlers, though justice required that they should consent to sell and receive a fair equivalent for those parts to which they had acquired a title by settlement. The wilderness was open to all, and if Indians had a right to hunt, Europeans had an equal right to fell the trees, plant the ground, and reclaim treasures of nature for purposes of refined life.⁷ That the number of natives rapidly diminished before the advancing step of civilization was due to a law, antecedent to enactments of the Assembly, not influenced by the will of the white settlers.

The natives cultivated a grain known as maize or Indian corn, which was prolific in increase and highly nutritious for food, and the colonists were soon well pleased to adopt it; but there was required many years to introduce it to the tables of the enlightened Europeans. Sir Robert Peel, the Premier of England in 1846, discovered that in America, Indian corn was used for "human food" and recommended its free importation: but as an article of diet it would seem, that his countrymen have not shown eagerness to adopt his recommendation.

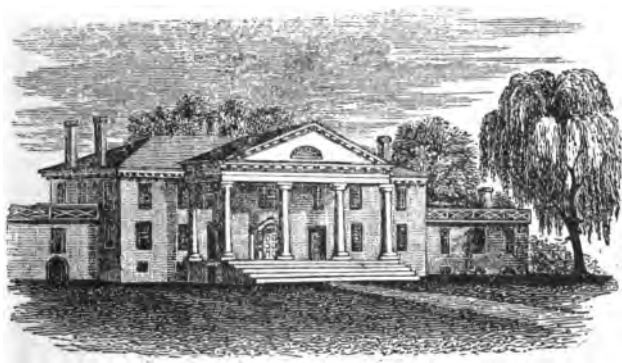
Howison quotes Smith in his description of a fruit, the persimmon, still well known in Virginia: a tree "they call *Putchamin*, which grow as high as a palmata, the fruit is like a medler: it is first green, then yellow and red when it is ripe: if it be not ripe, it will draw a man's mouth awry with much torment, but when it is ripe, it is as delicious as an apricot."⁸

⁷ Howison Vol. I, pp. 114-115.

⁸ Smith I, p. 122.

Howison reached the conclusion, after a review of her history, that no state of the Union had cherished its principles and improved its advantages more than Virginia. Her sons had been ever active in the Council Chamber and the field. Patrick Henry had "set the ball in motion, and driven it forward by the breath of his eloquence." Thomas Jefferson had written the Charter around which every state was to rally in the hour of danger.

Richard Henry Lee had supported Independence at the critical moment. Randolph, Pendleton, Mason, Wythe, Carr and Harrison had all borne their part in encouraging the soul of freedom.



MONTPELIER, THE SEAT OF PRESIDENT MADISON.

And in arms, Virginia had not been less distinguished: George Washington had gone from her bosom to lead the armies of America to triumph; Morgan had left his home in the Valley, to penetrate the forests of Maine, to head the forlorn hope at Quebec, to drive the enemy before him at Saratoga and to overwhelm Tarleton at the Cowpens; Mercer had fought and bled at Princeton; Stephens had

battled even in defeat at Camden and gathered fresh laurels at Guilford; George Rogers Clarke had entered the wilderness and conquered a new empire for his country.

The first voice of warning had been raised in Virginia and the last great scene of battle had been viewed on her soil.⁹

"Those among whom we live, like actors on a stage, appear to us, under such a dress, as best may suit with the present times and with the characters ~~they~~ assume. To these their words and actions are accommodated, so that it is hardly possible to penetrate into their real sentiments or draw out the truth to light from the darkness under which it is industriously concealed. But in the accounts of former ages, the facts themselves disclose to us the real motives and genuine disposition of the actors."

Turning to Charles Campbell for a last rendering of Virginia's repeated story, we learn from him, that while Virginia must be content with a secondary and unpretending rank in the general department of history, yet in the abundance and the interest of her historical materials, she may, without presumption, claim pre-eminence among the Anglo-American colonies. And while developing the rich resources with which nature has so munificently endowed her, she ought not to neglect her past, which teaches so many useful lessons, and carries with it so many proud recollections. Her documentary history lying much of it slumbering in the dusty oblivion of Transatlantic archives, ought to be collected with pious care, and embalmed in the perpetuity of print.

He writes, as he warns his reader in his prefatory remarks, in conformity with the maxim of Lord Bacon, that "it is

⁹ Howison depicts very clearly the part borne by Virginia in the war with Great Britain in 1812. Her support of Madison's measures, her contribution of treasure and people to the defence of the country, her sufferings from depredations of the enemy and endurance of the hardships of war at Hampton, Craney Island, the White House and various other points along the Potomac.

the duty of history to represent the events themselves, together with the counsels, and to leave the observations and conclusions thereupon to the liberty and faculty of every man's judgment." ---

While the reader might become wearied over lengthy paragraphs of crowded facts, his interest is fastened by the many personal notes in the family history of the principal actors in many scenes. These begin with the life of Smith and for information about him Campbell relies upon Hillard's "Life of Smith," Spark's "American Biography and Simms' "Life of Smith."

Our author would have the sculptor's art present a fitting memorial of Smith in the metropolis of Virginia and considers that a complete edition of his works would be a valuable addition to American historical literature. He notes that the learned Grahame considers Smith's writings on colonization, superior to those of Lord Bacon. Smith in his role of father of the colony, is "a hero like Bayard, without fear and without reproach;" further, Campbell delights in repeating the description, from one of his comrades, who in deploring his departure, testifies that "Smith was one who in all his actions made justice and prudence his guides, abhorring baseness, idleness, pride and injustice."¹⁰ Yet even so partial a biographer remarks upon a singular omission in Smith's earliest work, that "he makes no allusion to his rescue by Pocahontas." Howison characterizes Smith's silence upon subjects which might reflect credit, on himself, as his genuine modesty, "which concealed many facts the world would have delighted to learn:" in this instance, it would seem that the debtor, for so timely a service, would eagerly have seized the opportunity to publish it.

¹⁰ Campbell p. 82.

In the selection of subjects for his history Campbell takes under consideration,—the several discoveries which enabled the colonists to land on the American continent under conditions which gave promise to the success of the enterprise; their settlement and gradual acquirement of property; the establishment growing firmer with wise management; the various changes of administration; the disputes with the mother country; revolutionary commotions and proceedings; the Declaration of Rights and of Independence; the events of the war, terminating in the investment of Yorktown and surrender there of the English forces;—closing his annals of “the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia” with the scene of its death struggle,—finishing in lines which epitomize Virginia’s part in what he calls “the *Drama of the Revolution*—” “opened by Henry and now virtually terminated by Washington and his companion-in-arms.”

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LONDON COMPANY'S VENTURE. DANGERS AND DIFFICULTIES OF SETTLEMENT.

"High caste is the result of high actions, and by actions does a man degrade himself to a caste that is low."

After the lapse of one hundred and ten years from the time of Cabot's discovery of Virginia's coast, and in the third year of his reign, James I. granted a patent authorizing stockholders, mostly resident in London, to establish the Southern Colony.

Nearly a year was consumed in preparatory arrangements; these being finally matured, Thomas Smith, a successful merchant, who had been Raleigh's principal assignee and now received the order of knighthood,—as the treasurer of the company formed for the management of the enterprise,—was entrusted with the chief management.

Those who set forth to form the first Colony, numbered one hundred and five persons; fifty-four of whom, in the shipping list are specified as *gentlemen*,¹ besides whom there were eleven laborers, four carpenters, one blacksmith, one bricklayer, a sailor, a mason, a barber, a tailor, a drummer, and a chirurgeon,—authorized to plant a colony in the district between 34° and 40° north latitude.

This colony sent by the London Company, in a small ship (Susan or Sarah Constant) of 100 tons burthen and

¹ Howison thinks the influence of these first settlers gave a peculiar bias to Virginia's population Vol. I. p. 89.

two accompanying barks, (Godspeed or Goodspeed and Discovery) under the command of Capt. Christopher Newport sailed from Blackwell, December 19, 1606. Through Gosnold's persuasions both John Smith and the Rev. Robert Hunt had joined this company.

Empowered with what served as an experimental patent, the company of adventurers went forth to spy out the land which was to furnish them, if only a temporary abiding place, at least an extensive field for their operations.* A weary and disheartening journey of many week's duration, had wellnigh resulted in their determination to return to England, when the accident of a storm drove them into the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, which revealed to them a point of comfort.²

Upon arrival at the various waters and localities they gave them English names, but the beautiful Indian Chesapeake was never re-christened. One of the "true lovers³ of Virginia" thinks all interested in her history must deplore that the same fortune did not attend the name of the river, Powhatan, a title so pregnant with associations of Indian valor and the departed glory of her empire.

Nearing the capes which they called after their princes, the beloved Prince of Wales, whose early death disappointed the hopes of many, and his brother, the Duke of York, to whom as Charles I. they were to render the allegiance of English subjects,—they landed upon Cape Charles, and there came in contact with the first natives. "Before they made a selection, the colonists met with several Indian nations, one of whom was the Accawmacke."

² A similar experience when returning from Pianketank in the summer of 1608 caused them again to turn to this point for shelter.

³Howison Vol. I. p. 92.

Pursuing their course along the Southern shore they discovered a good harbour. Landing the second time, they met with five Indians,—more timid and also friendlier than the first—of the Paspahagh tribe. Searching for a suitable place of settlement and trusting to discover this from information furnished by the savages, they gladly availed themselves of these Indians' invitation to visit their town, Kecoughtan, where they were entertained with bread made of Indian corn meal; and afterwards with tobacco and a dance.

While undecided regarding their location, the chief of this tribe, "being made acquainted with their design" offered them as much land as they wanted.

A member⁴ of the company thus chronicles their adventures: "On the 8th of May, we landed in the country of Apamatica. At Chesupioc Bay we set up a Crosse. We came to our seating place in Paspiha's country, some eight miles from the point of Land where our shippes do lie. We pitched upon a peninsular where the ships could be in six fathoms of water moored to the trees."

The view which met their gaze was of boundless forests watered by fresh running streams, the sight of which gave peculiar delight. The only cleared land was occupied as seats of the natives, where their tepees were spread.

What they found in the way of food is further told. "At this time of yeare, the people live poore, their corn being newly put in the ground, their old store spent, their best relief is oysters and crabs and such fish as they take in their wateres. They had been newly roasting Oysters and we ate some, large and delicate; and opening some

⁴ Percy in his "Discourse," cited by Brown.

we found in them Pearles. We found also beautiful strawberries, bigger and better than ours in England."

A particular description⁵ of their situation bounds it on the north by a small but deep and navigable river, which united on the east with the main stream, on the south by the river itself and on the west by the same; being connected with the main land at this end by a short neck, so low as to be entirely covered by very high tides, when the peninsular becomes an island. It contained about 2,000 acres of arable land, low at the eastern end and rising gradually westward; and several thousands acres of marsh, covered with water at high tide. Of this tract the settlers selected the west end, it being the highest part, for the site of their town.

"Here they proceeded to knock up small sheds or shanties in great haste, thatching them over with the long grass taken from the marsh" thus managing to secure sufficient shelter against sun and rain, until they could build more substantially.

As neither ties of kindred, nor interest of property existed for them in this strange country, where privation met them upon landing and danger soon followed, the anticipation of returning home to enjoy the fruits of service during self-imposed exile, alone upheld them through all trials. More than a decade of years was to pass before any plan of establishing themselves with their families permanently upon the soil, entered their thoughts and then the little germ of *amor patriae* was awakened by the individual acquirement of land.

Enthusiasm because of the novelty of their position, seems to have characterized their first efforts. This rare collection

⁵ Va. His. Reg. 1849.

of pioneers fell to work with spirit, each to his apportioned duty. Intent upon accomplishing what Raleigh had so earnestly attempted, but was forced by disasters to abandon we judge these were bold adventurers,—who started from overcrowded marts and scenes of rural industry—aware of the risk of the enterprise, and unaccustomed to the kind of labor thrust upon them, yet willing to give time and labor to duties which fell to their lot.

Smith believed that the location at Jamestown would serve as the site for a large city, but the first summer's residence there proved so unhealthy, exposed as it was to the malaria of extensive marshes, the wonder is that the colonists did not sooner⁶ abandon the locality for another section of the country. Newport returned to England June 15, 1607, leaving a hundred and four of the company which he had landed in May. Soon after his departure, disease appeared, to assist the Indian scalping knife, in rapidly decreasing the little community; and during the summer months over fifty persons perished, a list of whose names is to be found in the Discourse of Hon. George Percy.⁷

“There was night and day groaning in every corner of the Fort most pitifull to heare, without reliefe for the space of sixe weeks, some departing out of the World three or four in the night and in the morning their bodies were trailed out of their Cabines like Dogges to be buried.” The worthy Gosnold, projector of the expedition, was among the victims, whose life became sacrificed through the poor quality of rations daily allowed; many died from actual starvation.

⁶ It seems to have required a half century's *seasoning* to acclimatize them.

⁷ Genesis of America Vol. I, pp. 167-8.

Their condition may be better understood when it is remembered that the sick depended upon a pint of damaged wheat or barley and the rest, upon sturgeon and crabs, for their subsistence. During this distressing season they had the spiritual ministrations of clergyman Hunt and the faithful attentions of the surgeon general Thomas Wotton, (the chirurgeon of the shipping list.) Anxiously they were tended during illness, and, if rudely buried, there yet remains the memorial list of their names made at the time of their decease. The first death recorded is that of John Asbie, on August 6, 1607.

August 9th.—George Floure, of the swelling.

“ 10th.—Wm. Bruster, of a wound by savages, gentleman.

“ 14th.—Jerome Alikock, of a wound by savages, ancient.

“ 14th.—James Midwinter died suddenly.

“ 14th.—Edward Moris, died suddenly.

“ 15th.—Edward Browne and Stephen Galthorpe.

“ 16th.—Thomas Gower, gentleman.

“ 17th.—Thomas Mounslie.

“ 18th.—Robert Pennington, gentleman.

“ 18th.—John Martine, gentleman.

“ 19th.—Drue Peggase, gentleman.

“ 22d.—Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold, one of the Council. Honorably buried: All the Ordnance in the Fort shot off with many vollies of small shot.

“ 24th.—Edward Harrington and George Walker buried the same day.

“ 26th.—Kenelme Throgmorton.

27th.—William Roods.

August 28th.—Thomas Stoodie,⁸ Cape-merchant (store-keeper or treasurer.)

September 4th.—Thomas Jacob, sergeant.

“ 5th.—Benjamin Beast.

“ 18th.—Ellis Kinnistone, starved to death with cold.

“ 18th.—at night, Richard Simmons.

“ 19th.—Thomas Moulton * * * *

* * * * George Kendall, in attempting to seize the pinnacle and escape to England was captured, tried by a jury, convicted, and shot. His conduct previously had caused the colonists to displace him from the Council, of which he had been appointed a member.

. Early in the winter of 1607-8 Smith set forth on the fateful exploring expedition up the waters of the Chickahominy which resulted in his capture and detention at the various Indian towns, subject to Powhatan and his brother. This trip cost the lives of three of his party: one, George Cassen, who by disobeying orders in leaving the barge during the absence of Smith, was surprised and killed: the two others, Robinson and Emry were accompanying Smith on a short excursion, when they were attacked by Indians and slain, while Smith was foraging toward the head of the river in marshy ground, called “the slashes.”

Upon his release and return to Jamestown, Smith found the number of the colonists much reduced, but at Newport's arrival there were landed nearly a hundred more, among them, Matthew Scriviner, gentleman, who became a prominent member of the Council, but was drowned in 1609. Again, Capt. Francis Nelson, commander of the ship, “Phoenix,” which arrived in the spring, added 120 more.

⁸ Campbell p. 41, and Stith p. 46 give the treasurer's name *Thomas Studley*.

Of these passengers, 33 were gentlemen; 21 laborers, (some of them only footmen;) 6 tailors, 2 apothecaries, 2 jewellers, 2 gold-refiners, 2 goldsmiths, a gunsmith, a perfumer, a surgeon, a cooper, a tobacco-pipe maker, a blacksmith, and others.

Newport⁹ carried back to England Ed. Wingfield. Capt. Gabriel Archer and Martin returned with Nelson.¹⁰

Minister Hunt "an honest, religious and courageous divine, during whose life our factions were oft qualified, our wants and greatest extremities comforted" was sent out by Hakluyt and received a salary of £500 by agreement of the Company in England with the Council in Virginia. He had taken a year for reflection, before consenting to the project, but decided in time to join the adventurers who landed the spring of 1607; the first English speaking missionary who preached in the country.

His first place of worship was arranged by spreading an old sail over trees; "the area being enclosed by wooden rails and seats provided by unhewn logs; the pulpit, a wooden crosspiece nailed to two trees." Later a chapel was erected with a view to temporary service "set upon cratchets, covered with rafts, sedge and earth:" but this edifice "took fire and was all consumed with many of their dry-thatched dwellings, palisades, bedding, arms and apparel."

One Perkins and his son lately landed, "lost all they possessed except a mattrass which had not been carried on shore" and "good master Hunt, lost all his library and every thing but the cloaths on his back."¹¹

⁹ Campbell, p. 53.

¹⁰ Smith His. Va. Vol. I, p. 172.

¹¹ Macaulay says the English chaplains might be considered fortunate if they acquired ten or twelve dog-eared volumes, for the sale of their whole living would not purchase a collection of any considerable size.

Not long after Newport's departure in the spring of 1608 "John Laydon"¹² and Anna Burrows (Anne Burras) were marry'd together, the first Christian Marriage in that Part of the World."¹³ This ceremony was performed by the Reverend Hunt.

When Newport departed also "Smith and Scriviner divided betwixt them the rebuilding of Jamestown and the church." (One of these early churches according to Byrd "cost no more than £50.") Here service was read daily and two sermons were preached on Sunday; the communion being celebrated every three months

Overcome by privations Mr. Hunt is said to have died after a sojourn of three years in the colony.

On June 2, 1608, Smith with seven gentlemen (including Dr. Walter Russel, recently arrived) and seven sailors, embarked in an open barge on a voyage for exploring the Chesapeake. At Cape Charles they were directed to the dwelling-place of the Werowance of Accomac, who was found courteous and friendly and the handsomest native yet seen. His people spoke the language of Powhatan. Searching for fresh water they came to the river, Pocomoke, the northern part of which they named Watkins' Point, after one of the soldiers, and a hill on the south side, Keale's Hill, after another.

On this voyage they came across the tribes Nanse, Sarapinagh, Arseek and Nantaquak: people of small stature, who wore the finest furs, were the most expert in trade and manufactured a great deal of Roenoke.

During their return, while amusing himself spearing a fish with his sword, Smith was so poisoned by its sting, his

¹² During 1609, Virginia Laydon, the first Virginia child was born.

¹³ Beverley, p. 19, April, 1609.

companions concluded his death was near, and by his directions, prepared his grave on a neighboring island. This incident caused their return to Jamestown, where however, they did not tarry. Smith having recovered, set forth again, accompanied this time by six, gentlemen,—Anthony Bagnall, surgeon, among them and six sailors.

Reaching the head of Chesapeake Bay, they met with Indians, Smith supposed to be the Iroquois of the Five Nations.¹⁴

At this time they met with the gigantic Susquesahan-nocks, living on the stream of a similar name, that and their own supposed to be derived from Suckahanna, (*water*.)

The extreme limits of discovery were marked by crosses carved in the bark or by brass crosses fastened to the trees.

Mr. Richard Fetherstone, a gentleman of the company, died on this voyage, and was buried on the banks of the Rappahannock River, where a bay was named in memory of him. On September 7, 1608, the travellers arrived to find many changes at Jamestown, where there had been much sickness among the people and many deaths.

Disappointment at the result of their investments in the interprise, caused the English Council to write Smith a letter,¹⁵ complaining of the state of things in the colony and declaring that unless the expenses (about £2,000) of a ship sent by Capt. Newport the fall of 1608) should be paid by her return cargo, they would abandon the settlers to their own resources; to which Smith sent the following reply, considered by one of his biographers, characteristic of his *vigorous, acute and manly* nature. "The Planters in Virginia, their purses and lives were subject to some few here in

¹⁴ Smith I, p. 147.

¹⁵ Which Howison calls an *intemperate letter* Vol. I, p. 145. Smith I, 200-203.

London, who were never there, that consumed all in Arguments, Projects and their own conceits, every yeere trying newe conclusions, altering every thing yeareley as they altered opinions, till they had consumed more than £200,000 and neere eight thousand men's lives. Now because I answered not the Merchant's expectations with profit, they writ to me, if we failed the nexte returne they would leave us there as banished men, as if houses and all those commodities did grow naturally, only for us to take at our pleasure—with such tedious Letters, directions and instructions and most contrary to that was fitting, we did admire how it was possible such wise men could so torment themselves and us with such strange absurdities and impossibilities, making Religion their Colour, when all their aime was nothing but present profit as most plainly appeared."¹⁰

Hitherto Smith had refused to accept the office of President several times proposed to him, but on September, 1608, he at length consented. The church was repaired, the storehouse covered and magazines erected for supplies, the fort changed to a pentagon figure, the watch renewed and troops trained. Smith found sufficient occupation for his restless energies.

The President experienced the greatest difficulty in providing a sufficiency of food for the settlers, they being preserved from starvation by unremitting exertions on his part, "trying of his conclusions" with the natives, in order to discover where he might obtain food, as the arrival of the English vessels afforded only temporary relief. Of 200 colonists many were billeted among the Indians, thus becoming familiar with their manner of life.

¹⁰ "Pathway to Experience to erect a plantation."

A spirit prevailed of surmounting difficulties, as though they realized that only perseverance could secure permanent success, in making Virginia a valuable possession.

Disappointment in their hopes caused the Company to obtain a new charter, transferring power to themselves and incorporating many societies and individuals of wealth and power.

In place of a president,—the office which had been filled by Wingfield, Ratcliffe, Smith and Percy in turn,—a governor, in the person of Lord Delaware, was appointed but as he did not embark for more than a year, his Lieutenant-governor, Sir Thomas Gates,¹⁷ and the admiral, Sir George Somers and Newport, commander, were sent with authority to take upon themselves the administration until Delaware arrived, whichever was first to reach Jamestown.

Of the vessels which sailed from Plymouth toward the end of May, 1609, the list given is as follows:—

The *Sea-Adventure* or *Sea-Venture*, Admiral Sir George Somers with Sir Thomas Gates and Capt. Christopher Newport.

The Diamond, Captain Ratcliffe and Captain King.

The Falcon, Captain Martin and Master Nelson.

The Blessing, Gabriel Archer and Captain Adams.

The Unity, Captain Wood and Master Pett.

The Lion, Captain Webb.

The Swallow, Captain Moon and Master Somers.

There were also in the company two smaller craft, a ketch and pinnace.

“Within eight day’s sail of Virginia they were caught in the tail of a hurricane, which continued for forty-eight hours. Some of the vessels lost their masts, some had

¹⁷ Campbell. Footnote, p. 77.

their sails blown from the yards, the sea breaking over the ships. On July 24th a small vessel was lost and the Sea-Venture was separated from the other vessels. Smith's history describes the terrifying scene.

"When rattling thunder ran along the clouds,
Did not the sailors poor and masters proud,
A terror feel as struck with fear of God?"

These vessels brought "divers gentlemen of good means and high birth, but among the three hundred settlers, were profligate youths, packed off from home to escape ill destinies, broken down gentlemen, bankrupt tradesmen, decayed tapsters, and ostlers, trade-fallen, the cankers of a calm world and long peace."

Among the English youths who werè exchanged or quartered with the Indians—some to learn their language as well as to obtain food—was one Henry Spilman,¹⁸ who landing in August, 1609, was *sold* to the Indians, with whom he lived for 18 months, after which time he returned to England, but coming back in 1616 was employed as an interpreter; "for he knew most of the kings of that country and spake their Languages very understandingly." Spilman (or Spelman) was tried in 1619 by the Burgesses for speaking disparagingly of Governor Yeardley, and was killed by the Anacostan Indians in 1623, on the banks of the Potomac.

Of his adventures he relates "In October, 1609, we sayled up ye river of Powhatan and within four or five day's arrived at James Towne, wher we weare joyfully welcomed by our countrymen, being at that time about 80 persons under the government of Captaine Smith, the

¹⁸ Howison, "Spelman was saved during the starving time by Pocahontas."

President. I was carried by Captain Smith to ye Fales to ye litel Powhatan, where unknown to me he sould me to him for a towne, called Powhatan, and leaving me with him (ye litel Powhatan).

He made knowne to Captain Weste how he had bought a towne for them to dwell in, desiring that Captain West would come and settle himselfe there: But he having bestowed cost to begin a towne in another place misliked it * * * * With King Potowmecke I lived a year, at a town of his called Pasptanzie untill such time as an worthy gentleman named Captain Argall arrived at a towne called Nacottowtake: He desiring to here further of me cam up the river when the king of Patomecke, having sent me to him and I goinge agyne backe brought the Kinge to ye shipe when Captain Argall gave the King some copper for me which he receyved. Thus was I sett at libertye and brought into England."¹⁹

¹⁹ Brown, *Genesis of America*.

CHAPTER IX.

HOPE REVIVED. MARTIAL LAW. THE POWER OF THE SWORD.

Smith left the colony in good condition, Jamestown strongly fortified with palisades enclosing fifty or sixty houses, besides other forts and plantations sufficiently provisioned for some months; but the ill health of the president, Percy, and poor management, quickly caused confusion and anarchy to prevail. From a settlement of several hundred persons, when Gates and Somers arrived in May, 1610, there survived but sixty and these were without food. For years afterwards this was known as the starving time.¹

Landing, Gates caused the church bell to be rung and all who were able repaired to the church, where "earnest and sorrowful prayer was delivered by Rev. Mr. Buck upon their miserable condition." The decision was made of abandoning the plantations: the ordnance was buried, a farewell volley fired and the last man stepped on board for the return to his native country.

While anchored next morning off Mulberry Island, by a wonderful providence, they received dispatches from Lord Delaware, now near at hand, with three vessels and store of provisions. The travellers all turned back the same day to Jamestown.

Delaware was the first executive officer upon whom the titles of governor and captain-general were bestowed,

¹ Howison, Vol. I. p. 175.

though they were held afterwards by all colonial chief magistrates. He restored order out of chaos, and by a wise administration of justice tempered by indulgence, dignity with gentleness, the colony once more began to assume a promising appearance.

Many plans were made for the improvement of the town. The church was to be repaired, to have a chancel and communion table of black walnut, pews of cedar, *handsome* windows also of cedar, to open and shut; a pulpit, with a font hewed out hollow like a canoe; two bells at the west end. The church was to have a sexton and be trimmed with divers flowers.

Every morning, at the ringing of the bell at ten o'clock and again at four in the afternoon, the people attended prayers. The governor was accompanied on Sundays to and from church by the councillors, officers, and all the gentlemen, with a guard in livery, handsome red cloaks, fifty on each side and behind. He sat in the choir, in a green velvet chair, with a cloth and velvet cushion on the table before him on which he knelt.²

Delaware built "two Townes called Henricus and Charles Citty" named after the king's sons: they were in reality forts, on Southampton river, intended as landing places for settlers arriving from England,—places at which they might recruit after their journey across the ocean.

While a generous friend to the colony, the poor conditions were ill suited to a man of his Lordship's position and circumstances,—accustomed to all the state and fashion of court life,—besides the climate did not agree with him; becoming enfeebled in health, he left for England and the management of the colony, for a time, again fell in the hands of Percy.

² Campbell p. 102.

The many disasters had so disheartened the company in London, they debated the matter of recalling the settlers from Virginia, but Gates, then in England dissuaded them from so desperate a step. As the system of arbitrary government had proven inefficient, an entire change was now determined upon: and before the departure of Delaware, the company prepared to dispatch Sir Thomas Dale, with fresh supplies, empowering him to rule by martial law, with the title of High Marshall of Virginia. Dale had served as a military man, and brought over with him an extraordinary code of "laws divine, moral and martial" compiled by William Strachey, secretary of the colony, for Sir Thomas Smith, from the military laws observed during the wars in the Low Countries. These founded on the practice of the most rigid school then in Europe, were recommended by Sir Francis Bacon.

Taking advantage of this investment, he used vigorous measures for setting the people to work and quelling disturbances, finding it necessary to execute eight persons for treasonable plots, one of whom was Jeffrey Abbott, a sergeant under Capt. John Smith.

In his memorandum of changes to be undertaken "he called into consultation such whom I found here, and there were proposed many businesses necessary, as namely the reparation of the falling Church and so of the Storehouse, a stable for our horses, a munition house, a Powder house, a new well for the amending the most wholesome water which the old afforded * * * * private gardens for each man * * * * common gardens for hemp, flaxe, etc., and lastly a bridge to land our goods upon; for most of which I take present order and appointed;

first, for the church, Capt. Edward Brewster with his gang: second, for the stable, Capt. Lawson with his gang: third, Captain Newport undertook the bridge with his mariners."³ It was at this time that "Hee (Dale) hath newly strongly impaled the towne, which hath two rowes of houses of framed timber, some of them two stories and a garret higher and three large Store-houses, joined together in length."

Searching for a site on which to build another town, Dale went up the river and chose for this purpose a neck of land, known as the *peninsular*,⁴ nearly surrounded by a bend of the river. He made his settlement on the north side of the river and included the whole neck. Extending down the river for three miles to a swamp, it contained a tract of fertile land which produced tobacco so like that of Varina in Spain that it was called by that name.

Here Sir Thomas had his house and plantation. He gave the town the name of Henrico in honor of the cherished memory of Prince Henry and from this the name of the county arose. "Henricus is situated upon a necke of a plaine rising land, three parts environed with the maine River; the neck of land well impaled makes it like an ile: It hath three streets of well framed houses, a handsome Church and the foundation of a better to be laid, to bee built of Bricke, besides Store-houses, Watch-houses and such like.

"Upon the verge of the River there are five houses where-in live the *honestest* sort of people, as Farmers in England and they keep continuall centinell for the towne's security.

³ Brown.

⁴ Farrar's Island.

"About two miles from the towne into the Maine, is another pale neere two miles in length, from River to River, guarded with several Commanders, with a good quantity of corne-ground impaled, sufficiently secured to maintain more than I suppose will come these three years."

There may still be seen the ruins of a great ditch overgrown with large trees, which was defended with a palisade to prevent surprise on that side by crossing the river. On the south side of the river a plantation was established called Hope in Faith and Coxendale, about two and a half miles long and secured by five forts called Charity fort, Elizabeth fort, fort Patience and Mount Malady with a guest house for sick people upon a high and dry situation and in a wholesome air, where Jackson church now stands.⁵

On the same side of the river also their preacher, the Rev. Alexander Whitaker, (who had accompanied Dale to Virginia,) chose to be seated; and he impaled a fine well-framed parsonage with one hundred acres of land, and called it Rock Hall.

Founding towns was a favorite project of Dale's. To revenge some injuries by the Appomattox Indians, about Christmas, 1611, he took their town, near the mouth of the Appomattox river, by assault, and finding it convenient for a new settlement,—being but five miles distant from Henrico,—he established a plantation there, which he called New Bermudas, annexing to it, as a corporation, several adjoining plantations and bestowing on it some valuable privileges forever. These were Upper and Nether Hundred, Rock's Dale Hundred, Shirley Hundred and Digges Hundred.

⁵ Stith.

In conformity with the code of martial law each hundred was controlled by a captain.

Rock's Dale, enclosed by a palisade four miles in length, was dotted with houses along the enclosure. Here the hogs and cattle grazed in security for twenty miles. Nether Hundred was enclosed with a palisade two miles long, running from river to river, and here within half a mile of each other were many neat houses built.

About 50 miles below these settlements stood Jamestown, on a fertile peninsular, well enclosed and the town and neighborhood well peopled. Forty miles further down lay Kiquotan.

In August, 1611, Sir Thomas Gates had come with *six tall ships*, to relieve Dale of the charge of the government. He brought with him 300 men and abundant supplies; and seconded Dale in his efforts to form settlements. Gates returning to England in 1614, Dale reassumed the government of the Colony: but having stayed in Virginia five years and having established good order at Jamestown, he now desired to return to England.

Appointing Sir George Yeardley his deputy, he sailed from Virginia aboard the *Treasurer* in company with Pocahontas and her husband Rolfe, and others.

Rolfe wrote a "Relation of the State of Virginia in 1616-1617" in which he tells of the inhabited parts of the country. "The Places now inhabited and possessed are sixe

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Henrico and the Lymitts. | Members belonging to ye |
| 2. Bermuda Hundred. | Bermuda Towne, a place |
| 3. West and Shirley. | so called there by reason of |
| 4. James Towne. | the strength of the situa- |
| 5. Kequoughtan. | tion, were it indifferently |
| 6. Dale's Gift. | fortified. |

1. "Henrico is seated on the north side of the river 90 odd myles from the mouth thereof and within 15 or 16 myles of the falls or head of that river, (being our furthest habitation within the land). Here are 38 men and boys whereof 22 are farmers, the rest officers and others, all of whom maintayne themselves with food and apparrell. Of this towne, one Captain Smaley hath the command in the absence of Capt. James Davis. The Rev. Wm. Wickham, a member of the Council was minister there." Henrico was the seat of the college established for the education of Indian children, and also selected for the location of a colonial college, but the latter plan did not mature.

2. "Bermuda Nether Hundred is seated on the south side of the river crossing it and going by land five miles lower down than Henrico by water, which seate contayneth a good circuite of ground, the river running round, so that a pole running across a neck of land from one parte of the river to the other maketh it a peninsular. The houses and dwellings of the poeple are sett round about by the river, and all along the pale, so farr distant one from the other that upon anie alarme they can succor and second one the other." The number of inhabitants was 119. Captain Yeardley was in command and Mr. Alex. Whitaker (drowned in 1617) was minister there.

3. "West and Shirley Hundred is seated on the north side of the river lower down than the Bermudas three or four myles. Capt. Isaac Madison, (who came in 1608, and was a surveyor and among the leading men) was in command over 25 men (Captain Madison died in 1624).

4. "James Towne is seated on the north side of the river from West and Shirley lower down about 37 myles. Lieut. Sharpe⁶ in command over 50 men. Mr. Richard Buck was minister there.

⁶ Campbell has Capt. Francis West in command.

5. "Kequoughtan⁷ is seated not farr from the mouth of the river thirty seven myles below James Towne on the same side. Capt. George Webb, (captain of the *Lion*) in command and Mr. William Mease (or Mays) was minister.

6. "Dale's Gift is upon the sea, neere unto Cape Charles about thirty myles from Kequoughtan. Lieut. Gibbs⁸ was in command over 17 men."

Up to this time "there had been sent to Virginia 1650 persons. Dale left 205 officers and laborers, 81 farmers 65 women, and children: in all 351 persons, a small number to advance so great a work."

Lieut.-Gov. Yeardley "a most unique character in early colonial history" enforced obedience from his own men and the respect of the savages.

In 1617 he was succeeded by Captain Argall, a rough seaman, accustomed to despotic sway in his own ship and not fit to administer the arbitrary government in Virginia which required firmness tempered by mildness and discretion.

When he arrived "hee was entertained by Captaine Yearley and his companie in a martiall order whose right hand file was led by an Indian. He found but five or six houses, the church downe, the storehouse used for a church"—doubtless the church which "being poorly constructed fell" and was not immediately rebuilt. "About the year 1612 the patentees promoted a subscription among devout persons in London for building churches in the Colony but the money was diverted to other purposes." During Argall's administration a church was built at Jamestown

⁷ Elizabeth City Co.

⁸ Campbell has Lieut. Craddock in command

“wholly at the charge of the inhabitants of that cittie, of Timber being fifty foote in length and twenty foote in breadth.”

Argall's conduct became so outrageous, neither the colony nor company could bear it longer: complaints having reached the ears of the latter, they had gained the consent of Lord Delaware to return to Virginia for the *deliverance* of the colonists, when the tidings of his death was received. Argall was then deposed and Yeardley, who spent nearly £3,000 in furnishing himself was sent in his place. The office of Captain-General was conferred on him and he was made a member of the Council and chosen Governor for three years on November 18, 1618. Granted at the same time twenty great shares for the transport of 26 persons and knighted by the king at New Market six days after: he again sailed for America in January and arrived there April 19, 1619.

CHAPTER X.

ESTABLISHMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

A GOVERNOR, UNIQUE IN CHARACTER.

The arrival of Sir George Yeardley, son of George Yeardley, Gent., "a soldier truly bred in that University of Warre, the Lowe Countries" was the opening of a more brilliant era in Virginia annals than any that had gone before. He added to the council Capt. Francis West, Capt. Nathaniel Powell, John Rolfe, William Wickham and Samuel Maycock with John Pory as Secretary of Virginia. Yeardley was empowered with plenary powers to call together the first General Assembly that ever met in America, and established the regular administration of right.

This first legislature assembled at Jamestown on Friday July 30, 1619, with John Pory, Speaker, and John Twine, Clerk. Of this "first free parliamentary body" there was made "A report of the manner of proceeding in the General Assembly convented at James City, in Virginia, consisting of the Governor, the Council of Estate and two Burgesses elected out of each incorporated plantation (or borough) and being dissolved the 1st of August, next ensuing."

A matter of great moment occurred when Sir George Yeardley, Knight, Governor and Captain-General of the colony, having sent his summons all over the country, as well as to invite those of the Council of Estate that were absent, as also for the election of Burgesses, there were chosen and appeared the following members of the Assembly: For James City; Capt. William Powell, Ensign William

Spence. For Charles City; Samuel Sharpe, Samuel Jordan. For the City of Henricus; Thomas Dowse (or Dowce), Jno. Polentine (or Potintine). For Kiccowtan (Kequoughtan); Capt. William Tucker, William Capp. For Martin-Brandon (Capt. John Martin's Plantation) Mr. Thomas Davis, Robert Stacy. For Smythe's Hundred; Capt. Thomas Graves, Mr. Walter Shelley. For Martin's Hundred; Mr. John Boys, John Jackson. For Argall's Gift (Plantation); Mr. Paulett (or Powlett) Mr. Gourgeny. For Flowerdieu Hundred; Ensign Edward Rossingham (nephew of Governor Yeardley), Mr. John Jefferson. For Capt. Lawne's (or Lannis') Plantation; Capt. Christopher Lawne (Lannis), Ensign Washer (or Wisher). For Capt. Ward's (or Wirt's) Plantation; Capt. Ward (or Wirt), Lieut. Gibbs.

The Assembly met in the choir of Jamestown church; "Governor Yeardley being set down in his accustomed place those of the Council of Estate sat next him on both hands except only the Secretary, then appointed Speaker, who sat before him; John Frome, Clerk of the General Assembly being placed next the Speaker and Thomas Pearce, the Sergeant, standing at the bar, to be ready for any service commanded him: and 'forasmuche as man's affairs do little prosper, where God's service is neglected, all the Burgesses stood in their places untill a prayer was said by Rev. Mr. Buck, the minister 'that it would please God to guide and sanctifie all our proceedings to his own glory and to the good of the Plantation.' Prayer being said, to the intent that as we had begun at God Almighty, so we might proceed with due respect toward his lieutenant, our most gracious and dread sovereign, all the Burgesses were

instructed to retire themselves into the body of the church, which being done, before they were fully admitted, they were called to order and by name, and so every man (none staggering at it) took the oath of supremacy and then enterr'd the Ass'bly.

"The Speaker read the commission for establishing the Council of State and the General Assembly, and also the charter brought out by Yeardley.¹ This last was referred to several committees for examination, so that if they should find anything 'not perfectly squaring with the state of the colony or anything pressing or binding too hard' they might by petition seek to have it redressed 'especially because this great charter is to bind us and our heirs forever.'"

Objection was made to the burgesses appearing to represent Capt. Martin's patent, because they were, by its terms, exempted from any obligation to obey the laws of the colony. After inquiry these burgesses were excluded, and the Assembly "humbly demanded" of the Virginia Commonwealth an explanation of that clause in his patent entitling him to enjoy his lands as amply as any lord of a manor in England, "the least the Assembly can allege against this clause is, that it is obscure, and that it is a thing impossible for us here to know the prerogatives of all the manors in England." They "prayed that the clause in the charter guaranteeing equal liberties and immunities to guarantees, might not be violated, so as to divert out of the true course the free and public current of justice."

The first Assembly "debated all matters thought expedient for the good of the Company."

Owing to the heat of the weather, several of the burgesses fell sick and one died, and thus the governor was obliged

¹ Howe, p. 40 gives Yeardley's name "Thomas" also Campbell pp. 140-3.

abruptly, on the fourth of August, to prorogue the Assembly till the first of March.

The Acts of the Assembly were transmitted to England for the approval of the treasurer and company: they were thought to be judiciously framed, but the company's committee found them "exceeding intricate and full of labor."

During Yeardley's government, the remaining servants of the colony were emancipated, and their estates, real and personal, were confirmed "to be holden in the same manner as by English subjects." Finding a great scarcity of corn he promoted the cultivation of it, and the year 1619 was remarkable for very great crops of wheat and Indian corn.

A large increase was made to the population (then but 600) of twelve hundred and sixty-one new emigrants; among these ninety "agreable young women," were introduced by the good policy of Sir Edwin Sandys,—which not only produced a material change in the views and feelings of the colonists with regard to the country, but encouraged them to establish homes, as married men were generally preferred in the selection of officers.

During this year also were imported the first negroes into the colony, but as they were untamed and uninstructed, their arrival was not regarded as a matter of much consequence. The condition of white servants was so abject, the colonists had grown accustomed to the sight of human beings in bondage.

A great mortality occurred, which carried off not less than three hundred of the people, at this time.

The establishment of the college in Henrico, with a liberal endowment, took place in 1619 by the king's exaction of

£15,000 from the bishops, and "many devout gifts" were sent voluntarily; of these, two *unknown* persons presented plate and ornaments for the communion table at the college, and at "Mrs. Mary Robinson's Church," to which she had contributed £200 at its founding. One subscribing himself "Dust and Ashes" (Gabriel Barber) gave £550 for the Christian education of Indians.

It became the *pleasure* of the king to command the company to transport to Virginia one hundred felons, who should be delivered to them by the knight-marshall; the time of the year, November, being unfavorable for transportation, the company was further required to provide for these people till they could sail which was not till February; the expense of their equipment altogether costing £4,000. Stith remarks, on this peremptory and arbitrary order "Those who know with how high a hand this king carried it even with his parliaments, will not be surprised to find him thus unmercifully insult a private company and load them, against all law, with the maintenance and expense of transporting such persons as he thought proper to banish * * * * to Virginia, which, originally designed for the advancement and increase of the colony proved a great hinderance to its growth. For it hath laid one of the finest countries in America under the unjust scandal of being another Siberia fit only for the reception of malefactors * * * *. This is one cause why our younger sisters, the northern colonies, have outstripped us so much in the number of their inhabitants, and in the goodness and frequency of their towns and cities."

Yeardley remained in office till November 18, 1621, when his commission expired. He was made then a Member of the Council, and remained in the colony, enjoying the

respect and esteem of the people and when upon the death of Sir George Wyatt, his son, Governor Wyatt, returned to Ireland,—the government of Virginia again fell into the hands of Yeardley, which position he continued to hold till his death in November 1626. Not long before his death he sold to Abraham Peirse (member of Council 1624-28) the lands of Flower-dieu Hundred and Weyanoke. Sir George Yeardley was buried at Jamestown November 13, 1626-7. The estimate placed upon his character by those best acquainted with his conduct and who were little disposed to flatter undeservedly the living or the dead, is to be found in a eulogy written by the government of Virginia to the privy Council, announcing his death.²

Among his biographies, Belknap has one of Sir Francis Wyat, who was chosen to govern Virginia in 1621: "A young gentleman of good family in Ireland, who was in every way equal to the place, on account of his education, fortune and integrity. He received from the company a set of instructions which were intended to be a permanent directory for the governor. In these it was recommended, to provide for the service of God, according to the form and discipline of the church of England; to administer justice according to the laws of England; to protect the natives and cultivate peace with them; to educate their children and to endeavor their civilization and conversion; to encourage industry; to suppress gaming, intemperance and excess in apparel; to give no offence to any other prince, state or people; to harbor no pirates; to build fortifications, to cultivate corn, wine and silk; to search

² Howe, p. 54. .

for minerals, dyes, gums and medical drugs; and to draw off the people from the excessive planting of tobacco." The civilization of the natives was a very desirable object and many pious and charitable people in England were interested in their conversion. Some few instances of the influences of gospel principles on the savage mind gave sanguine hope of success; "Of a single instance, the settlement at Jamestown,—(endangered by the insurrection of 1622, which was instigated by the treachery of Opechancanough) through the timely warning of a Christianized Indian, was preserved to the inhabitants, when other settlements were wiped out.

Sir George Calvert (Lord Baltimore) made a visit to Virginia, the fertility and advantages of which had been highly celebrated. In visiting the Chesapeake bay, he observed that the Virginians had not extended their plantations to the northward of the Potomac river, although the country there was equally valuable to that which they had planted.³

When he returned to England he applied to Charles I. for the grant of a territory northward of the Potomac; and the king readily complied with his request; but the patent was not completed till after the death of Lord Baltimore; when it was drawn in the name of his son Cecil. Lord Baltimore, and passed the seals June 28, 1632.

The province of Maryland, in this patent, is described as that part of a peninsular in America lying between the ocean on the east and Chesapeake bay on the west, and divided from the other part, by a right line drawn from Watkins Point, in the bay on the west, to the main ocean

³ Belknap.

on the east. Thence to that part of Delaware bay on the north, which lieth, *under the fortieth degree* of north latitude from the equinoctial (where New England ends.) Thence in a right line, by the degree aforesaid, to the true meridian of the first fountains of the river Potomac. Thence following the course of said river to its mouth, where it falls into the Chesapeake bay. Thence on a right line across the bay to Watkin's Point; with all the islands and islets within these limits.

The territory was said to be "in the parts of America *not yet cultivated*" and should not be holden or reputed as *part of Virginia* but immediately dependant on the crown of England. These clauses with the construction put on the *fortieth degree* of latitude proved the ground of long and bitter controversies, one of which was not closed till after the lapse of a century.

In 1631 King Charles had granted a license, under the privy seal to, William Claiborne, Councillor and Secretary of Virginia to trade in those parts of America, for which there had not been a patent granted to others and sent an order to the governor of Virginia to permit them freely to trade there. On account of which, Sir John Harvey and his Council, in the same year, had granted to the said Claiborne, a permission to sail and traffic to the "adjoining plantations of the Dutch or any English plantation on the territory of America."

In consequence of the license given to Claiborne, he and his associates had made a settlement on Kent Island, far within the limits of Maryland, and claimed a monopoly of the trade of the Chesapeake. These people, it is said sent Burgesses to the Legislature of Virginia and were

considered as subject to its jurisdiction, before the establishment of Maryland.

Claiborne resisted the encroachments of Maryland by force and this caused the first controversy between the whites which ever took place on the waters of the Chesapeake.

Claiborne was indicted, but fled to Virginia for protection, when Governor Harvey sent him to England for trial.

This occasioned the calling of an Assembly to receive complaints against Sir John Harvey and in 1635 Capt. John West was put in his place until the king's pleasure could be known.

Charles regarded the treatment of Harvey as treasonable and restored him to the office of governor in January, 1636, which he retained till November, 1639; when he was succeeded by Sir Francis Wyatt who, in his turn, was succeeded by Berkeley, February, 1642.

CHAPTER XI.

FORTS AND FORTIFICATIONS.

"The Matter of fortification taken into consideration."

Adopting the precautions of the natives for defence, the colonists palisaded their settlements, but so slightly at first—with boughs of trees thrown together in a semicircle—the Council found it necessary to plan a fort "for fortification and military exercise;" this was built "triangular-wise having three bulwarks at every corner like a half moone."

The fort became not only a place of defence, but the residence of a small number of families, belonging to the same neighborhood. The stockades, bastions, cabins and block-house walls were furnished with port-holes at proper heights, and distances. The whole of the outside was made completely bullet-proof. In some places, less exposed than others, a single block-house, with a cabin or two constituted the whole fort.

The families belonging to these forts were so attached to their cabins on their farms that they seldom moved into the fort in the Spring until compelled by an alarm which was announced by some murder that Indians were in the settlement. The settlers were often wakened in the dead of the night by *an express*, with a report that the Indians were near at hand. This express (messenger) came softly to the door or back-window and by a gentle tapping aroused the family.

This was easily done, as habitual fear made the whites ever watchful to the slightest alarm. Instantly the house-

hold was in motion: the little children and what articles of clothing and provision to be gotten hold of in the dark, were caught up, for they durst not light a candle or fire. All was done with the utmost dispatch and the silence of death—the greatest care being taken not to waken the youngest child; to the rest it was enough to say *Indian* and not a whisper was afterward heard.

Thus it happened that the number of families, belonging to a fort who were in the evening at their homes, were all in the little fortress before dawn, the next morning. During the succeeding day, their household furniture was brought in by parties of the men under arms.¹

These assaults from savages occurred in those seasons when the weather was open and pleasant; at the fall of the year when frost and cold set in, the Indians would vanish from sight and sound. But at the approach of the second summer, the period now known as *Indian Summer*, the savages were sure to reappear; and this delightful season, to which we look forward with so much pleasure, was anticipated then with inexpressible dread, because associated in the memories of the colonists with the second yearly inroad of the people, whose reappearance it heralded and from whom it derived its name.

Some families belonging to the forts were less timid than others, and these after an alarm had subsided, in spite of every remonstrance would move back into their homes while their prudent neighbors remained in the fort. Such people, termed "fool-hardy" gave no small amount of trouble by creating frequent necessities of sending runners to warn them of their danger, and sometimes parties of men to protect them during their removal.

The difficulty of moving was all the harder, because every thing had to be taken by hand, when the alarm came in

¹ Howe's Great West.

the night, for there was no possibility of getting a horse to aid in the transportation. An occasion has been mentioned when some of these intelligent creatures, seeming to be fully conscious of danger, behaved as if endowed with human intelligence. When upon a march, having nearly approached a camp of Indians, who sprang towards the sound of hoofs moving along the road, the horses stood perfectly still and in the thick darkness, the savages passed around without being able to discover them.

As emigration coursed westward, there ever remained an exposed frontier country so the necessity for establishment of forts continued and these, for many years, provided the safest retreats against attacks prosecuted with the desire of exterminating the colonists.

The first settlements were partly villages and partly fortifications but from the necessity for greater defense there arose more regularly constructed forts.

Smith mentions the undertaking of one more substantial than had been yet constructed. "There was built a fort for a retreat neere a convenient river, upon a high commanding hill, very hard to be assaulted and easie to be defended, but ere it was finished, *this* defect caused a stay. In searching our casked corne, we found it half rotten and the rest so consumed with so many thousand of rats that increased so fast, but their originall was from the ships, as we knew not how to keep that little we had. This did drive us all to our wits' end for there was nothing in the country but what nature afforded. This want of corne occasioned the end of all our works, it being work sufficient to provide victuall."²

The half completed walls of an ancient stone structure, on Ware creek in James City county "the most curious

² Smith, I p. 227.

relic of antiquity in Virginia" twenty-two miles from Jamestown is supposed to be the fort Smith undertook to erect a year or two after landing. Campbell calls it a *diminutive fortress*, of $18\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by 15 ft. in size consisting of a basement under ground and one story above; built of sandstone found on the bank of the creek, without mortar; on one side is a doorway, six feet wide, giving entrance to both apartments, the walls pierced with loop-holes and exact masonry. This old stone house, approached by



ANCIENT STONE STRUCTURE ON WARE CREEK

a long narrow ridge, stands in a wilderness, on a high steep bluff, at the foot of which the creek, a tributary of York river, meanders,³ a natural dividing line between New Kent and James City counties.

While Ratcliffe was still a member of the Council, he wrote, "We planted 100 men at the falls and some others upon a champion. I am raising a fortification upon Point Comfort." He ignores the fact that Smith "dispatched West with 120 men to form a settlement at the falls and Martin with nearly as many more to Nansemond" at the time that he offered a *fair proposition* to Powhatan, for his place, "which he was willing to accept."

³ Campbell, p. 74.

The term "Old" was prefixed to the name of the point to distinguish it from New Point Comfort. In March, 1629, an act was passed, for the erection of a fort here: "Matter of fortification was again taken into consideration and Capt. Samuel Matthews⁴ was content to undertake the raising of a fort at this Point; whereupon Capt. Robert Ffelgate, Capt. Thomas Graies, Capt. John Uty, Capt. Thomas Willoby, Mr. Thomas Heyrick and Lieut. William Perry, by full consent of the whole Assembly, were chosen to view the place, conclude what manner of forte shall be erected and to compounde and agree with the said Capt. Matthews for the building, raising and finishing the same."

This fort, constructed of brick and shell-lime and known as Point Comfort Fort, was erected in 1632: but, in the course of time, underwent reconstructions and various changes of name. As Fort George⁵ it was rebuilt in 1727 but this fort or series of structures, was destroyed in 1749 by a terrible hurricane. Captain Barron, then commander at the fort, was living in the barracks of the garrison with his family and here in 1740 his distinguished son, Commodore James Barron, was born. The barracks were a long row of wooden buildings with brick chimneys running up through the center of the roofs. During the hurricane the family mustered on the second floor with all the weighty articles they could find: this was supposed to have kept the houses firm on their foundations and thus preserved the inmates' lives. The fortifications were entirely destroyed and Captain ⁶Barron moved to the upper part of Mill Creek, not far off.

War being declared against the Indians, the winter of 1674-5, it was ordered by "the grand assemblie held at

⁴ Captain Samuel Matthews married a daughter of Sir Thomas Hinton, had many servants and carried on many industries.

⁵ Now Fort Monroe, a stronghold of the United States government.

⁶ Virginia Historical Register.

James Cittie that 111 men out of Gloucester County be garrisoned at the ffort at or neare the ffalls of Rappahanack River⁷ of which ffort Major Lawrēnce Smith is to be chiefe commander: This ffort to be furnished with ffour hundred and eighty pounds of powder, ffourteen hundred and fforty-three pounds of shott." The fort was built in 1676: three years later, at the suggestion of Major Smith, he was made commander of a military district "provided he would settle at or neere the ffort by the last day of March, 1681, and have in readiness, upon all occasions, on beat of drum, ffifty able-bodied men, well armed with sufficient ammuni-tions, etc., and two hundred men more within the space of a mile, along the river, and a quarter of a mile back from the river prepared always to march twenty miles in any direction from the ffort: who were to be paid at the rate of other souldiers in times of war and peace." Major Smith with two others of this privileged place were to determine all causes, civil or criminal, that might arise, as a county court might do; only these military settlers were to be exempt from arrest for any debt save those due to the king, or contracted among themselves; and free from taxes, save those within their own limits.

A large part of the valley of Virginia, 150 miles embracing ten counties, was covered with prairies luxu-riant in tall grass and scattered forests filled with pea-vines. In 1730 Col. Robert Carter, known as *king* Carter, on account of his great wealth, (Secretary of the colony and a most influential man) obtained a grant of 60,000 acres of land, running twenty miles from the forks down the Shenandoah river: some of the finest Warren county lands were here embraced. Another tract of 1300 acres along the same river was of the finest lands in Clarke.

⁷ Campbell, p. 280, "afterwards the site of Fredericksburg."

Back creek in Berkeley county was settled very early by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who first arrived in 1732 from Pennsylvania, when 16 families settled near Winchester. From the same colony a second settlement was made in 1734 near Woodstock.⁸

In 1738 Frederick county including all of Fairfax's grant west of the Blue Ridge, the luxuriant prairie district, was set off: "Whereas great numbers of people have settled themselves of late upon the waters of Cohongorooton, Shenandoah and Opecquon, whereby the strength of the colony and its security upon the frontiers and his majestie's quitrents are like to be much increased, Frederick county is hereby cut off from Orange." Three creeks, Opequon, Sleepy and Back, rising in this county, flow into the Potomac. The advantageous situation of the country made it easy for hostile Indians to appear and disappear, and, in Braddock's war the settlers were so harrassed, the greater part went across North Mountain and took their abode in Tuscarora along the Falling Waters.

Moved by the accounts of the persecutions of these frontier settlers, the Assembly on March, 1756, passed an act "Whereas it is now judged necessary that a fort should be immediately erected in the town of Winchester and county of Frederick, for the protection of the adjacent inhabitants, against the barbarities daily committed by the French and their Indian allies, the governor of the colony for the time being is hereby empowered and desired to order a fort to be built with all possible dispatch and that his honor give such orders and instructions for effecting and garrisoning the same as he shall think necessary for the purpose aforesaid." An appropriation of £100 was made for carrying the provision into effect; and the fort

⁸ William Henry Foote, Sketches.

was called in honor of the British general, Lord Loudon, who had been appointed to the command of the troops in America.

In September, 1782, after the Indians had been defeated in their attempt to take the fort at Wheeling, they sent one hundred picked warriors to take Rice's Fort on Buffalo Creek in Ohio County. This fort consisted of some cabins and a small block-house, and in dangerous times, was the refuge of a few families in the neighborhood.

The Indians surrounded the fort at night, ere they were discovered, and soon made an attack which continued at intervals until two o'clock in the morning. The savages would call out to the people of the fort "Give up, give up, too many Indian, Indian too big. No kill." The defiant answer to this was "Come on, you cowards; we are ready for you. Shew us your yellow hides and we will made holes in them for you." There were only six men in the fort, yet such was their skill and bravery, that the Indians were finally obliged to retreat with a loss of a number of their men.

George Felebaum was shot in the forehead through a port-hole at the second fire of the Indians and instantly expired, so that the defence of the place was really made by only five men, as against one hundred chosen warriors, exasperated to madness by their failure at Wheeling Fort.

The names of these heroes were Jacob Miller, George Lefler, Peter Fullenweider, Daniel Rice, and Jacob Lefler, Jr.

Rice's fort was in a part of the county taken from Ohio in 1797 to form the county of Brooke, (now in the state of West Virginia,) which being the most northerly country, lay in that portion of the narrow neck of land lying between Pennsylvania and the Ohio River, called the Pan-handle.⁹

⁹ Howe's Antiquities, p. 202.

CHAPTER XII.

CIRCULATING MEDIUMS OF EXCHANGE. A POISONOUS
WEED AS A LEGAL TENDER.

Tobacco growing in the wilds of America was first discovered by the Indians and used by them to intoxicate themselves with the smoke of it on grand occasions.

The savages taught the white men the use of it, who, in turn, during the sixteenth century carried the knowledge to England. Tobacco was exchanged for English brandy, and thus the intercourse of the civilized with the uncivilized people began with the interchange of these poisons.

Those who first thought of using tobacco dust (snuff) were first laughed at and then were more or less persecuted. James I. wrote against snuff-takers and tobacco smokers, a book called "*Misoscarnos, or a Counterblast to Tobacco.*" In this curious work he compares the smoke of tobacco to the smoke of the bottomless pit, and says it is only proper to regale the devil after dinner."¹ Belknap writes of James' opposition to the cultivation of the weed, calling it "his squeamish aversion to it" and gives as the reason for his disapprobation of the trade "his obsequiousness to the Spanish nation which also cultivated tobacco in the American colonies and were jealous of the London Colonists."

The use of it being introduced into England, "it spread like wild fire, with a vigor that outran the help of courtiers

¹ *International Magazine.*

and defied the hinderance of kings. Creating a new appetite in human nature, it formed an important source of revenue to England.²

One of the first objects to which the industry of the colonists was directed was the cultivation of tobacco started by John Rolfe in 1612. Stith states that in 1622, thirty-six years after its first introduction in England and seven after the beginning of its cultivation in an English colony, the annual import amounted to 142,085 pounds weight.

That Elizabeth does not seem to have discouraged the use of tobacco is proved by the fact that she was suspected of using a pipe herself from time to time; and also from the story of a wager, with Raleigh as to whether he could determine the exact weight of smoke which issued from his pipe, a problem he solved by first weighing the tobacco and then the ashes; paying the wager, the queen remarked, that many adventurers had turned their gold into smoke but he was the first to convert smoke into gold.

When Urban VIII. excommunicated all persons who took snuff in churches, Elizabeth added to that penalty by giving beadles authority to confiscate the snuff-boxes to their own use. The Turkish Vizier thrust pipes through the noses of smokers.

Amuruth IV. forbade the use of snuff under penalty of having the nose and ears cut off.

In the time of Charles II. tobacco was used among the fashionables only in the form of highly-scented snuff. But coffee-houses reeked with the smoke from tobacco pipes and strangers expressed surprise that so many people should leave their own firesides to sit in the midst of eternal fog.³

² Grahame.

³ Macaulay.

"The kings of France wrote no satires, cut off no noses, confiscated no snuff-boxes: they sold tobacco and gave handsome snuff-boxes to poets, with their portraits on the lids and diamonds all around." The trade of it brought them millions of francs, and the demand for snuff-boxes excited liveliness in the manufacture of novelties, the exhibition of which, in the department of curios, adds interest to museum collections at this day. Campbell gives a description of Raleigh's tobacco-box, (which was brought out when he entertained his guests with pipes, a mug of ale and a nutmeg) as being of cylindrical form, seven inches in diameter and thirteen inches long, the outside of gilt leather, and within, a receiver of glass or metal, which held about a pound of tobacco. A kind of collar connected the receiver with the case and on every side the box was pierced with holes for the pipes. "This relic was preserved in the museum of Ralph Thoresby, of Leeds, in 1719 and about 1843 was added, by the late Duke of Sussex, to his collection of smoking utensils of all nations"⁴

This author tells that "at the time Jamestown was first settled, the characteristics of a man of fashion were to wear velvet breeches, with panes or slashes of silk, an enormous starched ruff, a gilt-handled sword and a Spanish dagger; to play at cards or dice in the chamber of the groom-porter and to smoke tobacco in the tilt-yard or play-house."

In 1610 tobacco was in general use in England and in 1614 there were 7,000 tobacco houses in or near London. This of course was not through the trade with Virginia as there the industry started later; the amount imported in 1619 into England from the colony, being the entire crop of the preceding year, was 20,000 pounds.

⁴ Campbell, p. 154.

There was chartered a "Society of Tobacco-pipe Makers of London" in 1620; the shield for which bore a plant in full blossom: (growing, this blossom is delicate both in fragrance and color).

An attempt was made by the House of Commons in 1621 to prohibit the importation of tobacco entirely,—which resulted in an embargo on all save from Virginia or Somer Isles.

The labor of the colony became almost exclusively devoted to the cultivation of tobacco; and finding a ready price from the extension of its use, the fields, gardens, public squares and even the streets of Jamestown at one period were planted with it. So popular an article was easily converted into a circulating medium: private debts, salaries and officers fees were paid in it and the statute book rarely mentions the payment of money, that it does not add as an equivalent, *or tobacco*.

For transportation, tobacco was packed in hogsheads with a wooden pin driven into each head to which were adjusted a pair of rude shafts and in the way of a garden-roller, was drawn to market by horses; the process was called tobacco-rolling and country roads were made for the convenience of this conveyance. This was the only mode of getting tobacco overland to market in the eighteenth century.⁵ The manner of opening the hogsheads for inspection gave rise to the term "tobacco breaks" now signifying their sales also.

Warehouses for storing tobacco and other merchandise, when established in 1712, were called rolling-houses from the custom of rolling the article to market before wagons

⁵ Howe says that those following this business formed a class by themselves, hardy reckless and rude, often indulging in a coarse humor at the expense of the traveller who chanced to be well dressed or riding in a carriage.

came into use or navigation on the rivers improved. This custom prevailed for transporting tobacco generally even later than 1820.

On September 21, 1827, a published notice warned tobacco planters that a petition would be presented at the next session of the Legislature, praying that the Inspectors of all Public Warehouses should be required, in inspecting tobacco, to break it in four different parts of each hog-head in order to detect the many impositions practiced in prizing; and that certain warehouses where such frauds were connived at and where inspectors refused to break tobacco in such places as they were desired to do by the purchasers, might be suppressed.

In the early days of the colony, money could purchase nothing, therefore no real money was used. Between the whites and Indians exchange was mere barter, and among themselves the natives trafficked with a kind of shell money, they called Roenoke or Rawrenoke.⁶

Needing food above all else, the English supplied themselves with such commodities for exchange as would be likely to tempt the taste of those with whom they had to negotiate. Beads for a time served their purpose and by manœvering on Smith's part, a scale of values was established for certain varieties of beads, those of a blue color being in great demand. Then copper became the legal tender: the Indian chief was paid a "proportion of copper"

⁶ Shell money is found to have been used in other parts of the world; a species called Kowry shells was used in Bengal. This was so exceedingly small in value that about 2,400 of them were equal to one shilling, yet notwithstanding the smallness of the denomination, some article in the market could be purchased for a singel Kowry.

for his Powhatan town⁷ and for betraying Pocahontas into Argall's hands, Iapazaws was paid a copper kettle. When the Indians gained a knowledge of the use of firearms they gladly bartered their corn and furs for such wonderful implements of destruction, and "fire-water", became later their comfort and curse.

The colonists having entered upon the cultivation of tobacco, that grew to be an article of export in great demand, all trading vessels came for tobacco; it would buy everything and was as much a thing of universal desire, as money was in other countries, hence the standard of value and circulating medium.

When money first began to be introduced, as the keeping of accounts in tobacco was inconvenient to foreign merchants who came to trade, an act was passed with the preamble "Whereas it hath been the usual custom of merchants and others dealing intermutually in this colony to make all bargains, contracts and to keep all accounts in tobacco and not in money, it shall be enacted that in future, they shall be kept in money, and in all pleas and actions the value shall be represented in money."

It was found so inconvenient to represent value by an arbitrary standard, the representative of which did not exist in the colony, an act was passed in 1641 repealing this, "Whereas many and great inconveniences do daily arise by dealing for money, Be it enacted that all money-debts made since the 26th of March, 1642, shall not be pleadable or recoverable in any court of justice under this government."

⁷ Powhatan also agreed to give one bushel of corn for one square inch of copper, —Stith.

An exception was made in 1642-3 in favor of debts contracted for horses or sheep, but money-debts were not recoverable again until 1656.

Twice a year, at a general meeting of the merchants and factors in Williamsburg, they settled the price of tobacco, the advances on the sterling cost of goods and the rate of exchange with England.

Having resorted to the primitive practice of making current an article convenient of access,—and this article, tobacco, now being the recognized medium of exchange, in universal demand,—there developed the necessity for guarding against excess in its production, and any use of tobacco of inferior quality. These causes would affect commerce as injuriously as a superabundance of bank paper or an influx of spurious coin.

Governor Spotswood was the author of an act for improving the staple of tobacco and making tobacco notes the medium of ordinary circulation. These notes were made current within the county or adjacent county and were still in use at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁸

Salaries were paid in tobacco or notes representing it, which were sometimes in denominations as low as six shillings current money.⁹

For a day's attendance at court¹⁰ the allowance was 25 pounds of tobacco.

Till the reign of Charles II, English coin had been struck by a process as old as the thirteenth century. Edward I. had invited thither skilled artists from Florence. During

⁸ Howison I, p. 275.

⁹ Hening IV. p. 32, 91.

¹⁰ County Court Records.

many generations, the instruments, then introduced into the mint, continued to be employed with little alteration.

The metal was divided with shears and afterwards shaped and stamped by the hammer; in these operations much was left to the hand and eye of the workmen. It happened that some pieces contained a little more and some a little less than the just quantity of silver; few pieces were exactly round and the rims were not marked.

In the course of years it was discovered that to clip¹¹ the coin was the easiest and most profitable kind of fraud.

During Elizabeth's reign it had been thought necessary to enact that the clipper be, as the forger had been, liable to the penalty of high treason. But the practice of paring down was too lucrative to be so checked and at the time of the Restoration, it began to be observed that a large proportion of crowns, half-crowns and shillings had undergone mutilation. This was a time fruitful of experiments

- and inventions in all departments of science.

A mill, which to a great extent superseded hand work was set up in the Tower of London: it was worked by horses and would be considered by modern engineers, as a rude and feeble machine. The pieces produced were among the best in Europe; it was not easy to counterfeit them, as their edges were exactly circular and were inscribed with a legend, therefore clipping was not to be feared. Hammered coins and milled coins, current together, were received without distinction in all payments. A clipped coin on English ground, went as far as a milled one, but across the Channel the milled crown became much more valuable, so the inferior pieces remained in the only market

¹¹ In 1619 Sir Lewis Stukely, who in 1618 betrayed his cousin, Sir Walter Raleigh, was found to have been for many years engaged in the nefarious occupation of clipping coins.—Keith, p. 173.

where they would fetch the same as the superior, and fresh milled money, disappeared as fast as it appeared, in foreign markets.

The shears of the clippers were constantly at work and forgers multiplied and prospered. At first the evil was disregarded, then it seemed impossible to find a remedy. Clippers amassed fortunes and, when capital punishment became the penalty, one of these felons was able to offer £6,000 for a pardon.

It became a mere chance whether a shilling, so called, was ten pence, six pence or a groat. Various experiments or remedies were tried. One projector urged assimilating their coin to that of neighboring nations, and among these was a proposition for coining dollars. Finally it was resolved that the money should all be recoined, according to the old standard of weight and fineness, and a period was fixed after which no clipped money would be allowed to pass.¹²

In the first year of the reign of Queen Anne, the Assembly passed an act "for regulating and settling the current rates of gold coin and of British silver coin in this dominion." The gold coin of the empire was made current at the rate of five shillings the penny-weight.

When Beverley was revising his history for the second edition he reported that the "Coin which chiefly they have among them is either Gold of the Stamp of Arabia; or Silver or Gold of the Stamp of France, Portugal or the Spanish America.

"Spanish, French or Portuguese coin'd Silver is settled by Law at three Pence, three Farthings the Penny-weight.

English Guineas at twenty-six Shillings each and the Silver two Pence in every Shilling advance.

¹² Macaulay.

English old Coin goes by Weight as the other Gold and Silver."

A table of coins circulating in 1747 gives the following values:

	£.	s.	d.
Spanish double doubloons.....	3	10	00
Doubloons (equal to \$7.20).....	1	15	00
Pistole (equal to \$3.60).....	0	17	00
Arabian Chequin.....	0	10	00
Pieces of eight.....	0	5	00
French crowns.....	0	5	00
Dutch dollars.....	0	5	00

All English coins at the same value as in England.

In 1762 it was found that the gold coin in the dominion was worse than the Spanish doubloons at least fifteen per cent. and as it might be of dangerous consequences to the trade and currency of the colony to permit so base a coin to pass in payment at the same rate with other gold of *more intrinsic value*—for settling the same it was enacted "that from the passing of this act all the gold coin of the German empire shall be current within his Majesty's Colony and dominion in all payments except his Majesty's quitrents at the rate of four shillings, three pence the penny-weight and no more."¹²

The question of money was causing some discussion in the colony and among the Dinwiddie papers there is the following letter from Governor Dinwiddie to the Earl of Halifax¹³ on the subject.

¹² Hening.

¹³ The Right Honourable George Dunk, the Lord Commissioner for Trade and Plantation at that time.

"Feb'y 24th, 1756. In my L's to the Board I have ventur'd to propose a coin'g Money at Home, to be appropriated for the Paym't of all the Officers in America, Civil and Military.

This Proposal is on a former Plan; I some Years since laid before Y'r L'd'ps for Trade w'ch y'n appear'd to them right and if it had been put in practice in the large Sums lately sent over to the Cont't of America, the Crown w'd have sav'd a great deal of Mo.(ney).

The Merch'ts probably may compl'n of y's Currency but I formerly propos'd to evade y'r Compl'ts y't if ret'd by way of Remittances the Bank receive it as Cash and it w'd serve to send out again the succeed'g Year. By y's Method they would be under no Hardships on receiv'g it in the Plantat's as it w'd be the same to them as Spanish or Portugal Mo.(ney) and Mo.(ney) coined in France, has been curr't among y'e islands and the British islands above these thirty Years and the Crown of France has gain'd considerably by y's Curr'cy as it is not equal to Ster. by $12\frac{1}{2}$ P ct."

A coin circulated in the colony of copper metal, about the size of a half-penny (English) and without milling around the edge, has embossed on one side the head of the king with his name "Georgius III Rex" and on the other a shield with the quarterings of England, Scotland, Ireland and Virginia: The whole design surmounted by a crown and encircled with the legend "Virginia 1773."

In 1775 an issue of Treasury Notes was ordered, 50,000 of the denomination of one shilling and three pence; signed by John Pendleton.¹⁴

¹⁴ Court Records.

There are extant several specimens of the currency of 1775, in Virginia notes £1 (18 by 21 cm.) and £2, (17.5x 12 cm.) No. ⁴²₄₂₇ Signed by Phil. Johnson and John Tazewell.¹⁵

The "First Paper Money stamped in Virginia or owned by the State" is printed only on one side and this printing announces that it is one-third of a Spanish milled dollar or value in gold, or silver to be given in exchange for this bill at the treasury of Virginia pursuant to an act of the Assembly passed October 5, 1778. On the left side of the note is the coat of arms of Virginia, while around the border, are the words above quoted in large capitals, the letters being interlaced in each other. The note was printed from the first stamp that was ever brought into the state.



Obverse



Reverse

VIRGINIA COIN OF 1773
(enlarged)

¹⁵ State Library

FOUR VIRGINIA COINS.

1. Silver Shilling of 1774: design, nude bust of George III. Laureated. Reverse, British coat of arms on gar-nished shield, with crown above. Legend "Virginia 1774."
2. Virginia Penny, of copper, same type as shilling. Dentated border; date 1773.
3. Virginia half-pence, 1773—same type but differing dies; varying sizes.
4. Shilling; view of Gloucester Court-house: XII below: Gloucester Co. (——) Virginia. Reverse, a large star
★ Ric Dawson, Anno Dom. 1714.

CHAPTER XIII.

EARLY COLONIAL DAMES.

Few women had ventured to cross the Atlantic, because the colonists did not propose to reside here permanently. In order to add to their interest in the settlement, through the comforts and connections of home ties, it was determined to send a number of young women as wives to the settlers.

There had come with Newport in 1608, Capt. Peter Wynne and Captain Waldo, two valiant soldiers and valiant gentlemen; Francis West, brother of Lord De la Warr; Raleigh Crashaw; Thomas Forest with Mrs. Forest and Anne Burras, her maid (whose marriage was the first solemnized); these two last named were the first English-women who landed at Jamestown.

In June, 1609, women as well as men enlisted under the Treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith, at his house in London: and the *Blessing*, a vessel commanded by Capt. Adams June 2, 1609, carried twenty women and children as well as men: "a few women came in 1609 with de la Warr."

In 1611 when Sir Thomas Gates left England there were among the passengers twenty women.

A fleet sent out by the Virginia Company brought over in 1619 more than 1,200 settlers: of these eighty were to be tenants for the governor's land; 130 for the company's land; 100 for the college; 50 for the glebe; 90 young women of good character for wives; 50 servants; 50 whose labors were to support thirty Indian children; the rest to be distributed among private plantations.

During the next year sixty more women were sent as wives for settlers. "This produced a great accession of happiness to the colony and the subject of their disposal was held to import its own dignity and was allowed to take precedence of all other engagements."

A letter¹ accompanying a shipment of marriageable females sent out from England to Virginia, "London, August 21, 1621," explains more fully the manner of conducting the transaction: "We send you a shipment, one widow and eleven maids, for wives of the people of Virginia. There hath been especial care had in the choice of them, for there hath not one of them been received but upon good commendations.

"In case they can not be presently married, we desire that they may be put with several householders, that have wives, until they can be provided with husbands. There are nearly fifty more that are shortly to come, and are sent by our honorable lord and treasurer, the Earl of Southampton, and certain worthy gentlemen, who taking into consideration that the plantation can never flourish till families be planted, and the respect of wives and children for their people on the soil, therefore having given this fair beginning, reimbursing of whose charges it is ordered that every man that marries them give 120 pounds of best leaf tobacco for each of them, we desire that the marriage be free, according to nature, and we would not have those maids deceived and married to servants, but only to such freemen or tenants as have means to maintain them. We pray you, therefore, to be fathers of them in this business, not enforcing them to marry against their wills."

¹ Cited by Campbell, note p. 147-8, (Hubbard's note in Belknap).

The custom of marrying young was long observed, both female and male being still in early youth. The practice also of celebrating the marriage in the home of the bride was generally observed and she had the choice of the priest, (in the later years of the colony when there was opportunity of choice) to perform the ceremony.

A wedding engaged the attention of the whole neighborhood. There was enacted a law requiring the keeping of parish registers by the minister solemnizing rites, and also requiring his return of the registration to Williamsburg, when that became the capital.

A marriage bond of 1750 reads "Know all men by these presents that we _____ and _____ (groom, and guardian) are held and firmly bound to our Sovereign Lord, the King—in the sum of £50 current money to the payment of which well and truly to be made to our sd lord, the king, his heirs and successors, we bind ourselves our heirs, ye firmly by these presents, sealed and dated this _____ day of _____. The condition of the obligation is such that whereas there is a marriage intended to be had and solemnized between the above _____ and _____ (contracting parties): If therefore there be no lawfull cause to obstruct the same then the above obligation to be void. Otherwise to remain in full force and virtue."

Marriage notices in the eighteenth century were accompanied by "a few poetic lines; one describing the young lady," whose *amiable sweetness* of disposition joined with the finest intellectual accomplishments, can not fail of rendering the worthy man of her choice completely happy," adds a lengthy poem beginning,

"Fain would the aspiring muse attempt to sing
The virtues of this amiable pair, etc."

To another couple,

“Her’s the mild lustre of the blooming morn,
And his the radiance of the rising day,
Long may they live and mutually possess
A steady love and genuine happiness.”

A third notice which mentions that the bride “is a very agreeable young lady;” tells that

“Here no sordid interest binds
But purest innocence and love
Combined unite their spotless minds
And seal their vows above.”

To the fourth notice is added the wish,

“May peace and love the sacred band unite and equal joy,
yield equal sweet content.”

In 1783 laymen were licensed to solemnize marriage rites.

The custom of the time kept woman in the retirement of home life,—the guardian and dispenser of household comforts and gracious hostess. The glimpses^{*} we get of her are as marginal sketches of ornamentation. To be sure “Mrs. Proctor, a proper civil, modest gentlewoman” defended herself and family for a month after the massacre: “Lady Temperance Yeardley came on November 16, 1627, to a court held at Jamestown and confirmed the conveyance made by her late husband, Sir George Yeardley, Knt, late governor, to Abraham Percy, Esq., for the lands of Flower dieu Hundred being 1,000 acres and of Weyanoke on the opposite side of water, being 2,200 acres.” During Bacon’s Rebellion, that commander adopted the stratagem of capturing the wives of several of the principal loyalists then with the governor, among them “the lady of Colonel

^{*} Such as “Sir Thos. Gates in 1610 sent his daughters back to England;” thus arousing curiosity about their visit to America.



BRASS MOULDS FOR PEWTER SPOONS

Many of the relics of the past reveal to us inventions which necessity brought into use: and among the most interesting are the old brass spoonmoulds for making pewter spoons. The illustration here given represents the size for table spoons, and was often called into use in the making of bridal presents. Moulding required the exertions of two people and precautions against burnt fingers; the moulds being held by one person while the heated metal was poured by another through the small aperture at the end of the spoon's bowl. When cooled the moulds were opened by handling projections on either side of the moulds (outwards) and forced apart.

Bacon, Sr., Dame Bray, Dame Page and Dame Ballard," sending word to their husbands in Jamestown that his purpose was to place their wives in front of his men in case of a rally: for which Colonel Ludwell reproached the rebels with "ravishing of women from their homes and hurrying them about the country in their rude camps."³ Another account tells that Bacon's stratagem was to make use of the ladies in order to complete his battery.⁴

Dame Berkeley had a very *varied* career; the widow of one Samuel Stephens, when she married Governor Berkeley, after his death, having been bequeathed his whole estate, she "enriched her third husband, Col. Philip Ludwell of *Rich Neck*, but still retained the title of Dame (or Lady) Francis Berkeley." While the widow Berkeley, she was sued by Col. William Drummond's widow for trespass, in taking from her land a quantity of corn; and in spite of a strenuous defence, a verdict was rendered against her. The plaintiff was Dame Sarah Drummond, the patriot heroine, "no less enthusiastic in Bacon's favor than her husband." Lady Spotswood appears in her enchanted castle at Germanna, and as the promised bride of the Rev. John Thompson, after Governor Spotswood's death, and in the correspondence requesting her release from a promise of marriage. Evelyn Byrd's great beauty made her the toast of the colony. The wife of George Washington became notable as "first lady of the land." Antedating her was the Revolutionary heroine, a personification of self-sacrificing, patriotic femininity metamorphosed from the stately figure of Colonial balls. Taken together they may assist in projecting a mental type of Colonial Dame "of ye olden time."

³ Campbell.

⁴ "Bacon was assisted by the conspicuous white aprons of the ladies."



EVELYN BYRD

CHAPTER XIV.

A CAVALIER OF THE OLD SCHOOL.

"When Parliament reassembled in October, 1641, after a short recess, two hostile parties appeared confronting each other, who for some years were designated as Cavaliers and Roundheads; but were essentially the same as those subsequently called Tories and Whigs,¹—rival confederacies of statesmen, one zealous for authority and antiquity, the other zealous for liberty and progress."²

Charles I. appointed in 1641, to the direction of affairs in Virginia, William Berkeley, a gentleman of rank and ability, upright and honorable character; manners, dignified and engaging; but above all else a cavalier of the most rigid and approved school, who loved the monarchical constitution of England, venerated her customs, church, everything peculiar to her as a kingdom, and enforced conformity to her institutions with uncompromising sternness.

¹ "In the year 1679 were first heard two nick names, originally given in insult, but soon assumed with pride; one of Scotch, the other, Irish origin. In Scotland some of the persecuted Covenanters, driven mad by oppression, had taken arms against the government; these zealots were most numerous among the rustics of the western lowlands, who were vulgarly called Whigs; the name of Whig was thus fastened on the Presbyterian zealots of Scotland and transferred to English politicians who showed a disposition to oppose the court and to treat with indulgence Protestant Non-Conformists.

² Macaulay I, p. 29. "The bogs of Ireland, at the same time afforded a refuge to popish outlaws, much resembling those afterwards known as Whiteboys. Those men were then called Tories; the name of Tory was therefore given to Englishmen who refused to concur in excluding a Roman Catholic prince from the throne."—Ibid I, p. 76.

The new governor was instructed to restore the Colonial Assembly and to invite it to enact a body of laws for the province and to improve the administration of justice by adopting the most salutary customs of the English realm. Thus was restored to the colonists the system of government, which they had originally derived from the Virginia Company. Universal gratitude was excited by this signal change.³

Berkeley's commission secured to England the exclusive possession of the colonial trade, and he was instructed to prohibit all commerce with other nations, a bond being required from the master of every vessel sailing from Virginia, obliging him to land his cargo in some part of the king's dominions in Europe.

The new governor arrived in February, 1642: the Assembly met in April following. Many important matters were settled at this meeting, the principal of which was the declaration against the restoration of the Virginia Company, (proposed by Sir George Sandys) which the colonists considered had been the source of intolerable calamities by its illegal proceedings, barbarous punishments and monopolizing policy.

Other matters decided were the abolishment of the tax for the benefit of the governor; and of punishment by condemnation to temporary service, which had existed ever since the foundation of the colony: this protection to liberty was considered so important that they declared it was to be considered as a record by the inhabitants of their birthright as Englishmen. Better regulations were prescribed for discussing and deciding land titles, and the bounds of parishes were more accurately marked. Taxes

³ Grahame, I, 96.

were proportioned to men's estates and abilities more than to numbers, by which the poor were much relieved.

At a court held at James City, June 29, 1642, there were present, Sir William Berkeley, knight, governor, etc., Capt. John West, Mr. Richard Kemp, Capt. William Brocas, Capt. Christopher Wormley, Capt. Humphrey Higginson. Two years later Sir William left Virginia for England and the Council elected Richard Kemp to occupy his post: after a year's absence the governor returned to take charge of the government. The colony at this time was in a prosperous condition, having acquired the management of its concerns, possessing security and quiet, abundance of land and a free market for their commodities. They were attached to the cause of Charles, because they cherished the liberties of which he left them in the undisturbed possession. When his authority was overthrown in the civil war, and he, a prisoner was convicted by the revolutionary tribunal, created to judge him,—“as a tyrant, a traitor, a murderer and a public enemy, his head severed from his shoulders, before thousands of spectators, in front of the banquetting-hall of his own palace” and his son driven out of the kingdom,—the colonists acknowledged the fugitive prince as their sovereign and conducted their government under a commission which he transmitted to Berkeley from his retreat in Breda.

The sentiment of one part of the colony is shewn in an old record in *Accomacke* County: in a “Proclamation by the Comander's and Commission's of Accomacke, Mense Decemb. Ano. 1643.” “Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to suffer us to bee deprived of our late dread Sovraigne, of blessed memorye, wee, the Comandr and Comissionrs of Accomacke doe by these pr'sents p'clayme Charles, the

undoubted heyre of our late sovraigne of blessed memorye to bee King of England, Scotland, France, Ireland, Virginia and all other remote provinces and collonys, New England and the Caribda Islands and all other Hereditaments and Indowments belonging to our late Sovraigne of blessed memorye willing and requiring all his Ma'ties Leiges to acknowledge their allegiance and with gen'rall consent and applause pray God to bless Charles the Second, King of England, Scotland, Ireland, Virginia, New England, ye Caribda Island and all other provinces and subjects to the English Crowne; and soe God save King Charles the Second. Amen. Amen. Amen." "*Recordat primo die Meuse Ffebruar 1649.* (Sine) Edw: Matthews, Cler, Cur."

But the Parliament did not long permit its authority to be denied. Under the operation of the Solemn League and Covenant there were "other instruments chosen for carrying on the work" causing "the forced deviation from his Majesty's obedience."

Of the Surrendèr of Virginia in 1651, Beverley says "at last the King was traitorously beheaded in England and Oliver installed Protector. However this authority was not acknowledged in Virginia for several years after, till they were forced to it by the last necessity. For in the year 1651, by Cromwell's command, Captain Dennis, with a squadron of men of war, arrived there from the Caribbee Islands, where they had been subduing Barbadoes. The country at first held out vigorously against him; and Sir William Berkeley, by the assistance of such Dutch vessels as were then there, made a brave resistance. But at last Dennis contrived a strategem, which betrayed the country. He had got a considerable parcel of goods aboard, which belonged to two of the Council, and formed a method of

informing them of it. By this means they were reduced to the dilemma either of submitting or losing their goods. This occasioned factions among them; so that at last, after the surrender of all the other English plantations, Sir William was forced to submit to the Usurper on the terms of a general pardon. However it ought to be remembered to his praise, and to the immortal honor of that Colony, that it was the last of all the king's dominions that submitted to the usurpation and afterwards the first that cast it off, and Berkeley never took any post or office under the Usurper."

In September, 1651, the Council of State, under Cromwell, issued instructions to Capt. Robert Dennis, Mr. Richard Bennett, Mr. Thomas Steg and Capt William Clayborne, Commissioners, for the *reducement* of Virginia and the inhabitants thereof to their due obedience to the Commonwealth of Virginia, or Capt. Edmund Curtis to serve in place of Dennis.

The articles of surrender between the Commissioners of the Commonwealth, and the Council of State and Grand Assembly of Virginia, secured:

1. That this should be considered a voluntary act, the colonists to enjoy freedom and privileges of freeborn people of England * * * *

2. That the Grand Assembly as formerly should convene and transact the affairs of Virginia. * * * * *

3. That there should be a full and total remission of all acts, words or writings against Parliament.

4. That Virginia should have her ancient bounds and limits, and new charter to that effect.

5. That all patents of land under the seal of the colony, granted by the governor, remain in full force.

6. That the privilege of 50 acres of land for every person emigrating to the colony, remain in force.

7. That the people of Virginia have free trade, as the people in England enjoy * * * *

8. That Virginia should be free from all taxes * * * without consent of their Grand Assembly; and no forts or castles be erected or garrison maintained without their consent.

9. That no charge should be required on account of expense of present fleet.

10. That this agreement be tendered to all persons, those refusing to sign have a year's time to remove themselves and effects from Virginia, etc. A supplemental treaty followed for benefit of the governor, council and soldiers, who had served against the Commonwealth, on favorable terms.⁴

These articles secured every privilege which could have been asked, and thus matters were amicably adjusted. Berkeley was too loyal a subject to be willing to accept office under Parliament. Without leaving Virginia he withdrew to a retired situation, where he continued to reside till the restoration of royalty placed him again, by the election of the people, at the head of the colonial government.

THE ACT FOR INDEMNITIE,

made at the Surrender of the Country,⁵ provided that "Whereas by the authority of the parliament of England, wee, the commissioners appointed by the Council of State authorized thereto, having brought a fleete and force before James Cittie in Virginia to reduce that collonie under the

⁴ Howe's Miscellanies.

⁵ Hening's Statutes I, 363.

obedience of the commonwealth of England and finding force raised by the Government and country to make opposition against the said fleet, whereby assured danger appearing of the ruine and destruction of the plantation, for prevention whereof the Burgesses of all the severall plantations being called and in said contemplation of the great miseries and certaine destruction, which were soe nearly hovering over the whole country, Wee, the sd comm'rs have thought fitt and condescended and granted to signe and confirme under our hands, seals and by our oath, Articles, bearinge date with theise presents, And do further declare, That accord'ng to the articles in generall, Wee have granted an act of indemnitie and oblivion, to all the inhabitants of this colloney, from all words, actions or writings that have been spoken acted or writt against the parliament or commonwealth of England or any other person from the beginnunge of the world to this daye, And this wee have done, That all the inhabitants of the collonie may live quietly and securely under the commonwealth of England. And wee do promise that the parliament and Commonwealth of England shall confirme and make good all those transactions of ours.

Witness our hands and seales this 12th day of March,
1651:

RICHARD BENNETT, [Seale]

WM. CLAIBORNE, [Seale]

EDM. CURTIS, [Seale]*

Both Comm'r Bennett and Comm'r Clayborne, formerly in Virginia, had been forced to fly, being in sympathy with Roundhead's. Clayborne's office as treasurer, forfeited by his leaving, was then bestowed on Colonel Norwood by

* Hening, Vol. I, 372.

the fugitive Charles. Now on April 30, 1652, Bennett and Clayborne, with the Virginia Burgesses, organized a provisional government under the Com'wealth. Bennett had been of the Council in 1646: he was at this time made Governor with Clayborne as Secretary of State, both of whom with the Council, appointed, were to have such power to act as should be granted by the grand Assembly.

In his "Convention of 1776," Grigsby, states that Richard Henry Lee's grandfather was an active accomplice of Berkeley. This is confirmed from the "Life and Correspondence of Rd. H. Lee" by his grandson of the same name: "During the civil war between Charles I. and the Parliament, Richard (the great grandfather of Richard Henry Lee) and Sir William Berkeley, being royalists, kept the colony to its allegiance so that after the king's death, Cromwell sent ships of war and troops to reduce it. Berkeley and Lee not being able to resist this force, yet refusing allegiance to Cromwell, brought the Commander of the squadron to a treaty in which Virginia was styled an independent dominion.

"While Charles II. was at Breda in Flanders, Lee hired a Dutch ship and went over to the king to know whether he could protect the colony if it returned in allegiance to him, but finding no support could be obtained, he returned to Virginia and kept quiet till after the death of Cromwell."

Governor Bennett and Council were allowed seats in the Assembly, which was now represented by twelve counties; the next year by fourteen, Henrico, Charles City, James City, Isle of Wight, Nansemond, Lower Norfolk, Elizabeth City, Warwick, York, Northampton, Northumberland, Gloucester, Lancaster and Surry.

Bennett was succeeded in 1655 by Edward Digges, (of the Council in 1654) of an ancient and distinguished family.

In 1656 Samuel Matthews,⁷ now returned from England, (where he was Virginia's agent in the controversy with Lord Baltimore, respecting the disputed boundary between Maryland and Virginia) was elected by the Assembly to succeed Digges. When the laws were revised this year letters, superscribed "For the Public Service" were ordered to be conveyed from one plantation to another to the place of destination.

Matthews held the office of governor till his death in January, 1659. In the following April Richard Cromwell, resigning the Protectorate, left England without a monarch. The Virginia Assembly therefore declared the government of the colony should rest in that body.

The news of the restoration of Charles II was hailed with demonstrations of delight by the Virginians, and his gracious expressions of good will excited vain hopes of favor.

Virginia at this time enjoyed freedom of commerce with the whole world; she had herself established nearly an independent democracy: prosperity had advanced till the people indulged in dreams of infinite wealth.

As soon as Charles was seated on the throne, a duty of five per cent on all merchandise, exported from or imported into the dominion was voted, and at the same time there was produced the *Navigation Act*, that all commodities imported into any British settlement or exported from it must be in English built vessels, the masters and crews of which should be English subjects; that the colonists could

⁷ "Worthy Samuel Matthews, an old planter, of nearly forty years standing,—a most deserving Commonwealth's man, who kept a good house, lived bravely and was a true lover of Virginia."

only ship their merchantable stuff to England, the restricted articles being called *enumerated commodities*.

The larger commerce and pre-eminent loyalty of the Virginians rendered these enactments particularly exasperating and the colony remonstrated against the grievance asking relief. But a deaf ear was turned to their petition and measures were adopted for executing the act and overcoming resistance by the erection of forts upon the principal rivers and the appointment of vessels to cruise on the coast.

In retaliation a colonial law was enacted that country creditors should have priority and the colonial courts gave precedence to contracts made in the colony. The growth of tobacco was to be restrained and new staples introduced, as the planting of mulberries, for the experimenting in the manufacture of silk.

Other causes concurred to inflame outraged loyalty. While defending their lives and property from the attacks from Indians in the interior, the security of that property became endangered by large grants the king bestowed upon his favorites.

Sir William continued as governor till April 30, 1661, when he was sent to England, as agent to defend the colony against the monopoly of the navigation act by the Assembly of March 23, 1661; but his efforts accomplished naught, and he returned in the fall of the following year, 1662. In his absence Col. Francis Morrison was elected to fill his place.

Governor Berkeley gave a reply to the inquiries of the Lords Commissioners of Plantations respecting the state and condition of Virginia, at the end of which he tells that "every man instructed his children at home according to his ability. I thank God there are no free schools, nor

printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best governments."

The arbitrary and oppressive administration in Virginia reached its climax, when in February, 1673, there was granted to the Earl of Arlington and Thomas, Lord Culpeper, the entire territory of Virginia for the term of thirty-one years, at the yearly rent of forty shillings: this included private plantations long settled and improved as well as wild lands. The Assembly determined to make an humble address to his *sacred* majesty, praying for a revocation of this and other grants and for a confirmation of the rights and privileges of the colony.

Francis Morrison, Thomas Ludwell, and Robert Smith were appointed to go and lay their complaints before the king; their expenses, being provided by heavy taxes, (and among these expenses were included *douceurs* to be given to courtiers.) They prayed that "Virginia shall no more be transferred in parcels to individuals, but may depend forever upon the crown of England."

Beverley gives an account⁸ of an expedition,—sent out by Governor William Berkeley, under Captain Henry Batte, consisting of fourteen English and the same number of Indians,—to make explorations in the west, who starting forth from Appomattox River, in seven days reached the foot of the mountains. "It is supposed, that in this journey, Batte did not cross the great ridge of mountains." But more recent historians are convinced that these explorers crossed the Blue Ridge, passed through

⁸ Beverley, I, 62, 63, 64.

the valley, scaled the Alleghany Mountains and penetrated nearly to the salt licks on the Kanawha River.⁹

They found the mountains so full of precipices, that they made their way with difficulty, and so high they seemed to touch the clouds; the steep ascent causing them to travel so slowly their advance in one day would be only three miles. Their course took them through extensive valleys, where they met with deer, turkeys and other wild game, which shewed no alarm at their near approach; wild fruits also grew in abundance and grapes as large as plums, doubtless of the variety of fox or scuppernong grapes to be found still.

Crossing one range they came, after passing through a level country, to the much loftier one, at the foot of which they discovered a beautiful valley, through which ran a rivulet descending from the high lands above, and flowing westward. Following this stream, they came to old Indian settlements and near to these, marshes; here the guides halted and refused to go further, saying not far off lived powerful tribes who made salt, which they sold to their neighbors; but who never suffered strangers, who discovered their towns, to escape.

Batte, though reluctant was compelled to return. He gave Berkeley so favorable a report, that the governor resolved to go upon a similar excursion, but this design was frustrated by events, threatening the peace of the colony, which demanded his entire attention.

Historians connect the Indian depredations and murders, which finally ended in open war, with Batte's excursion, which, they suppose, excited the jealousy of the savages.

⁹ Howison, 335.

When Nathaniel Bacon was chosen as leader of the band of people, who armed themselves in self-defence, he then stood high in the Council: his attainments and address had procured him a seat in the Council and the rank of Colonel in the militia. Being implicated in the slight insurrections of 1675, he had been then made prisoner, but was pardoned and reinstated. In the renewed excitement he came forward and joined the determined band, who had in vain petitioned the governor for protection and now sent to obtain from him a commission of General for Bacon. Berkeley tried to persuade Bacon to disband his forces; when instead, he mustered 500 men at the falls of the James, the governor issued a proclamation on May 29, 1676, declaring all, who should fail to return within a certain time *rebels*. Bacon also issued a proclamation setting forth the public dangers and grievances; charging Berkeley with neglect of proper precautions and exhorting the colonists to take arms in their own defense.

Under Bacon a great many combined in an expedition against the Indians. Receiving no official confirmation for his election, they marched to Jamestown, 600 strong, and surrounding the Assembly-house demanded his commission. The governor perceived his inability to resist their force, yet would not yield, till the council prepared a commission and prevailed on him to subscribe to Bacon's appointment as Captain-General of the Virginia forces. The insurgents then retired, and the Assembly no sooner felt relieved of their presence than they voted resolutions annulling the commission as extorted by force. Flushed with their former success, Bacon's army returned and finding the governor had gone from Jamestown, across the bay to Accomac, Bacon then took possession of the government. Sir William also collected a force of a few friends,

crews from the boats, and numbers of the lower people, and commenced a series of attacks on Bacon's army, when sharp encounters ensued. Jamestown was reduced to ashes by the insurgents, some of whom set fire to their own homes: many of the richest plantations were laid waste.

In retaliation Berkeley executed many of the insurgents. Animosity mounted to a pitch threatening mutual extermination, and tidings of an approaching armament, dispatched by the king, gave promise to greater desolation. Charles proclaimed Bacon a traitor and offered pardon to all forsaking him; and freedom to servants and slaves assisting in the suppression of the revolt. While Bacon was preparing to strike a decisive blow, his career was arrested by his sickness and death.¹⁰ His followers then dispersed, anxious to secure their pardon, as no one was competent to take his place of leader. The tide of revolution rolled back. For eight months the colony had endured all the throes of civil war, and property to the amount of £100,000 was destroyed.

In his behalf, and in extenuation of those assisting him, Bacon had published a declaration, stating that Berkeley had wickedly fomented a civil war, and abdicated the government; that as their general, he had, with approbation raised an army for the public service, that their welfare, and true allegiance to his most sacred majesty, demanded that they oppose all forces, and have the king informed of the true state of the case. Public opinion, long divided, as to the right of his course, is today inclined to regard with leniency any mistakes Bacon committed, and to do justice to his motives of action, maintaining that he sacrificed himself while endeavoring to adjust the wrongs of the

¹⁰ Towards the close of the year 1676.

colonists, with no view to personal advancement: and it is claimed that had Bacon lived precisely a century later, he would have been one of the distinguished heroes of the revolution; whose conduct historians would have delighted as much in eulogizing, as at an earlier date, they delighted in blackening his character.

A fleet under Admiral Sir John Berry or Barry, together with a regiment of soldiers under Col. Herbert Jeffreys and Colonel Morrison arrived on January 29, 1677, as commissioners to investigate the causes of the late commotions and to restore order. With them was associated Sir William Berkeley. They were authorized to pardon all who would duly take the oath of obedience and give security for their good behavior. The commission sat at Swan's Point: they discountenanced the excesses of Berkeley and the loyalists, and invited the insurgent planters, (who comprised the body of the Virginia people) to bring in their grievances without fear. In their zeal for investigation, the commissioners seized the journals of the Assembly, for which indignity the burgesses in October, 1677, demanded satisfaction. In this same October Charles issued proclamations pardoning all except Bacon, and declaring Berkeley's proclamation February, 1677, not conformable to his instructions.

But it was only by an address from the Assembly at Green Spring, that Berkeley was prevailed upon to desist from further sanguinary punishments. Being recalled by the king April 27, 1677, this governor returned to England leaving Col. Herbert Jeffreys in office, to which he was sworn immediately. Broken in health, Sir William departed, to the relief of the colonists, who expressed their satisfaction by displays of fireworks. The late anxieties aggravating disease, he died July 13, 1677.

CHAPTER XV.

DELINEATION OF THE COUNTRY. AUGUSTIN HERMAN'S
MAP WITH SERIES.

The King's Grant to Augustine Herman of the privilege of the sole printing of his map of Virginia is dated January 21. 1673—"Whereas by the King's command he has been for several years past engaged in making a survey of his Majesties Countries of Virginia and Maryland and hath made a map of the same consisting of four sheets of paper with all the rivers, creeks and soundings, etc., being a work of very great pains and charge and for the King's especial Service, and whereas the copying or counterfeiting said Map would be very much to said Herman's prejudice and discouragement, all his Majesties subjects are hereby strictly forbidden to copy, epitomize or reprint in whole or in part, any part of said Map within the term of fourteen years next ensuing, without the consent of said Herman his heirs or assigns." Domestic Entry Book. Charles II, Vol. 36. pp. 323-324. Whitehall.

The only original of this map known is in the British Museum, but reproductions exist; and a copy may be seen in the Virginia State Library, Richmond. The size is 31.5 by 37.5.

The influence of Herman's map is seen in all maps of Virginia up to Fry and Jefferson's of 1755.

This is one of the series used in the commissioners' report upon the boundary line between Virginia and Maryland, and has been reprinted as late as 1896.

AUGUSTINE HERMAN'S MAP.

"Virginia and Maryland, as it is Planted and Inhabited this present Year 1670 Surveyed and Exactly Drawne by the Only Labour and Endeavour of Augustin Herrman,² BOHEMIENSIS.

Published by Authority of his Ma'ties.

Royall License and particular Privilege to Aug. Herman and Thomas Withinbrook, his Assignee, for fourteen yeares from the year of our Lord 1673."

This Map was engraved by W. Faithorne, Sculptor and has upon it a miniature portrait of Augustine Herrman, Bohemian.

The notes upon it, beginning from right to left are;

1. "Part of Roanoke River by others' relation."
2. "The land between James River and Roanoke River is for the most parts Low, Suncken Swampy Land not well passable but with great difficulty And therein harbours Tygers, Bears and other Devouringe Creatures."
3. "Here about Sir Will Barkley Conquered and tooke Prisoner the great Indian Emperour, Abatschakin, after the Massacre in Virginia. Ano.
4. "Mount Edlo. This Name derives from a Person that was in his Infancy taken Prisoner in the last Massacra over Virginia. And carried amongst others to this Mount by the Indians, which was their watch Hill, the Country there about being Champion and not much Hilly."
5. "The Goulden or Brass Hill. With the Fountaine out this Hill, issued forth a glitteringe Stuff Sand like unto the Filings of Brass and so continued downwards this Necke

² Herman, "the lord of Bohemia Manor."

that the very ground seemed to be covered over with the same Brassy stuff."

6. "The Narrowes of York River and Mattapanye River. The Heads of these two Rivers Proceed and issue forth out of low Marshy ground and not out of hills or Mountaines as other Rivers doe.



7. "These mighty High and great Mountaines trenching N. E. and S. W. and W. S. W. is supposed to be the very middle Ridg of Northern America and the only Naturall Cause of the fiercenes and extreme Stormy Cold Winds that comes N. W. from thence all over this Continent and makes

frost. And as Indians reports from the other side West wards, doe the Rivers take their Originall issuing out into the West Sea, especially first discovered a very great River called the Black Mincquaas River out of which above the Sassquahana fort meetes a branch some leagues distance opposit to one another out of the Sassquahana and Sinnicus Indians went over and destroyed that very great Nation and whether that same River comes out into the bay of Mexico or the West Sea is not known. Certain it is that, as the Spaniard is possessed with great Store of Minneralls at the other side of these Mountaines the same Treasure they may in process of time afford also to us here on this Side, when Occupied, which is Recamended to Posterity to Remember."

8. "The great Sassquahana River runs up Northerly to the Sinnicus, above 200 miles with Divers Rivers and Branches on both sides to the East and West full of falls and Isles untill about 10 or 22 miles above the Sasquahana fort and then it runs cleare but Downwards not Navigable but with great danger with Indian Canoes by Indian Pilots. Nearby the present Sasquahana Indian fort.

9. "Between the Heads of these opposite Branches, beeing Swampy, is but a narrow passage of Land to come down out of the same Continent into the Neck between these two great Rivers."

10. "An Indian Canoe made out of a Tree with their Battles or Oares, with the manner of rowing over the Rivers.

11. "New Iarsy Pars, at present inhabited Only or most by Indians.

"12. Path to Neuesinex and New Yorck. High land begins.

An old English Map of Chesapeake Bay, (supposed to have been taken from Captain Smith's first map) "*Nova*

Terrae—Mariae tabula" is No. 3 of the collection in the State Library by T. Cecill, Sculpt., (a revised copy of which is to be found in Ogilby's *America*, 1671). The size is 11.5 by 15. cm. This map bears two coats of arms, English and French, the latter with the motto "*Fatti Maschy Parole Femine:*" And purporting to be a "*Novae Angliae Pars*" contains the "*Oceanus Orientalis*," "*Chesapeack bay*" and "*Virginiae Pars.*" "This Northerne part of Virginia (the limits whereof extend many degrees farther southwards) is here inserted for the better description of the entrance into the Bay of Chesapeack" "Reprinted by Litho. Photographic Inst., 492 New Oxford Sreet, London.

"A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America with the Roads, Distances, Limits and Extent of the settlements, Humbly Inscribed to the Right Honourable, The Earl of Halifax, and the other Right Honourable, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, by their Lordships' most obliged and very humble servant, Jno. Mitchell (stamped 9 Ju. '64.) Thomas Hutchin, Sculpt. Clerkenwell Green was undertaken with the Approbation and at the request of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantation; and is chiefly composed from Draughts, Charts and actual surveys of different parts of His Majesties Colonies and Plantations in America; Great part of which have been lately taken by their Lordships Orders and transmitted to this Office by the Governors of the said Colonies and others." Plantation office, February 13, 1755. John Pownall, Secretary.

In this map "the Bounds of Pennsylvania and Maryland and the Delaware Counties, are here laid down according to the late decree in Chancery which is not supposed otherwise to affect the Claims of any."

"After the first drawing of this Map in 1750 it was again corrected and improved before it was published and I have since taken Care to procure and examine all the information I could get, in order to render it as correct and usefull as possible which has given occasion to this Second Edition of it, in which I have likewise inserted all the Observations I believe we have for the Geography of North America, since I find them grosely misrepresented by others. The Foundation of this Map is the several Mss. Maps, Charts and Surveys, that have been lately made of our Colonies, which represent most Places from the Ocean to the Missisipi. —But in order to know the true Situation of those Places, we must have their Latitudes and Longitudes which are of much more Consequence in a general Map than their bare Shape or Figure, which we only find represented in our Draughts and Surveys. But after having consulted all the Observations I believe that we have, I found the true Situation of many Places was undetermined or uncertain and that in the principal Parts on the Coast; and that we had no Accounts of them, but what might be found in the Journals of our Ships of War kept in the Admiralty Office; which I had Recourse to for that reason and have extracted from them whatsoever relates to our purpose, which are the chief Source of the Corrections and observations here inserted.

Since the Publication of this Map, likewise I have examined and compared with other Accounts, the Observations of Mr. Chabert which were not made when our Map was first drawn, nor known in England till after it was published: So that we neither followed nor rejected them. From these authorities we find but two Alterations necessary in our Map: 1 in the Latitude of Cape Race: 2 in the Longitude of Cape Sable * * * *

"* * * * We are so far from improving them in the Geography of America that we see it made worse and worse for want of certain observations, which we have endeavored to collect and thus to represent in one view."

Certain referential figures and dates mark points on the coast given in this map: For instance at Curutuck inlet the marking is III. 1727; at Cape Henlopen, Mouth of Delaware Bay, is IV.; at Little Egg Ile off of the Jersey coast is V $\frac{1}{2}$. 1745; at the top of St. George's Bank, X $\frac{1}{2}$, 1746.

Here are laid down Cities and Capitals; Towns; Villages; Indian Towns and Forts; Fortifications; Forts (of the colonists); Habitations fortified; Settlements; Roads with their Distances; Falls in Rivers; Deserted Indian Villages.

Reprinted by the Litho. Photographic Inst. 492, New Oxford Street, London.

Another Map of Virginia is the "*Carte de la Virginie et du Maryland, dressee sur la grande carte Angloise de Messrs. Josue Fry et Pierre Jefferson, par le Sr. Robert de Vaugondy Geographe ordinaire du Roi. Avec Privilege, 1755.*" With the whole of the Virginia colonial settlement, this gives the southern portion of Pennsylvania, a part of New Jersey, "*De la War Counties*" and Maryland; and in the west the country beyond the Alleghany Mountains known as "Louisiana." Rep. by Litho. Photographic Inst. 492. New Oxford Street, London.

An accurate Map of North America describing and distinguishing the British and Spanish dominions on this great continent, according to the Definitive Treaty concluded at Paris the 10th of February, 1763, also all the West India Islands, belonging to and possessed by the several European Princes and States, "the whole laid down accord-

ing to the latest and Most Authentick Improvements" was drawn by Eman Bowen, Geographer to his Majesty and John Gibson, Engraver.

This map includes the settlement of Virginia to the *Blue Ridge Mountains*, from the seashore; along with all the coast country, Terra de Labrador, New Britain, New Foundland, Nova Scotia (or Acadia) New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina. It also gives the bounds of the Province of Quebec.

Also there is printed upon it in full the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 9th, 17th and 18th Articles of the Definitive Treaty; and certain explanatory notes. "Cape or Port is designedly omitted in all late French Maps and Charts because it sets Bounds to their Fishing which by the Treaty of Utrecht is to begin here and to extend to the North East to Cape Bonarista and no farther on the Coast of New Foundland."

"Cape Sable is laid down according to Chabert, who made his Observations in ye Year 1751. And South Carolina according to the survey of William de Brahm."

"The Limits of His Majesty's several Provinces are here laid down as they at present exercise their jurisdiction. But the Limits of the Massachusetts Province with New York, New York with New Jersey, Connecticut with New York and Pennsylvania with Maryland, are not yet finally determined. Nor is the Boundary of North and South Carolina yet settled, or of South Carolina and Georgia."

By the Litho. Photographic Inst., 492, New Oxford Street.

A map by John Henry, father of Patrick Henry, published in London in 1770, is advertised as "A new and accurate map of Virginia wherein most of the counties are

laid down from actual surveys; with a concise account of the number of inhabitants, the trade, sale and produce of the provinces, by John Henry; engraved by Thomas Jeffreys, geographer to the king."

A curiosity of the map is that a large section of Augusta county is labeled the *Irish tract*, because settled by the Scotch-Irish.

West Point or "West's Point," on York river, (so called from the family name of De la Warr) was at one time known as De la war and on this map is so laid down.

A Map of the most inhabited part of Virginia, containing the whole Province of Maryland with part of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and North Carolina, was drawn by Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson in 1775, and bears the seal of the British Museum upon it.

"To the Right Honourable George Dunk, Earl of Halifax, First Lord Commissioner and to the rest of the Right Honourable and Honourable Commissioners for Trade and Plantation; this Map is most humbly Inscribed to their Lordships by their Lordships' most Obedient and most devoted humble Servant, Thos. Jeffreys." Printed for Robert Sayer at No. 53 in Fleet Street, London, it was also reprinted by the Litho. Photographic Inst., 492, New Oxford Street, London.

A marginal note explains that the line between Virginia and North Carolina from the sea to Peter's Creek was surveyed in 1728 by the Honourable William Byrd, William Dandridge and Richard Fitzwilliams, Commissioners, and Mr. Alexander Irvine and Mr. William Mayo, Surveyors.

The earliest edition of this map was made in 1755.

In the list at Virginia State Library it is numbered 9.

"A Compleat Map of North Carolina," from an actual Survey, by Captain Collet, Governor of Fort Johnston, Engraved by I. Bayly, included a part of southern Virginia, west six degrees of longitude from Currituck Inlet; and was published by Act of Parliament, May 18, 1774, by S. Hooper, 25 Ludgate Hill, London; (later issued from the Litho. Photographic Inst. 492, New Oxford Street, London).

"To his most Excellent Majesty, George the III, King of Great Britain, etc., etc., etc., this Map is most humbly dedicated by his Majesty's most humble obedient and dutiful Servant, John Collet."

This map contains a good portion of South Carolina, its principal rivers, Waggomaw, Little Pedee, Great Pedee, Linches Creek, Wateree and Congaree Rivers emptying into Santee River and their tributaries, Pinetree and Fishing Creek, Sandy, Tyger and Salude Rivers; Savannah and Little Rivers, with the Indian trail from the Catawbah Indian tribe reservation to the Cherokee Nation. The country is represented as covered by forests.

The whole of the state of North Carolina is here delineated, its forest, mountains, streams, ports and inland habitations, together with the Dismal Swamp, Albemarle Sound and the Indian Country, and all known marsh land. Upon this map there are no marginal notes.

A Map of the country between Albemarle Sound and Lake Erie comprehending the whole of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania with parts of several other of the United States of America (New York on the north; two "New States" unnamed and Kentucky in the west lying south from Lake Erie; the states of Franklin and North Carolina on the south; a *neck* of New

York and portion of New Jersey on the east) was engraved for Jefferson's "Notes on Virginia." In this map, "the country on the eastern side of the Alleghany mountains is taken from Fry and Jeffersons' Map of Virginia and Scull's Map of Pennsylvania which were constructed chiefly on actual survey. That on the western side of the Alleghany is taken from Hutchins, who went over the principal water-courses with a compass * * * * * correcting his work by observations of latitude: additions have been made where they could be made on sure ground." Here mountain ranges are more accurately and distinctly followed; towns, forts, courthouses, churches and private dwellings are located, and lines dividing counties and states are quite correctly given. From Litho. Photographic Inst. 492 New Oxford Street, London.

A copy of the *Enquirer* of the year 1827 contains an advertisement of a New Map of Virginia.

"The new map of Virginia, compiled from actual surveys, under the authority of the State is now published and may be obtained by persons desirous of procuring it on application to William H. Richardson, at the Capitol in the city of Richmond.

"This work, effected by the labour of many years and at a great cost of care and money, has never, perhaps, been surpassed in variety and accuracy of detail, or in beauty or elegance of execution. It reflects the highest credit on the science and skill of the persons immediately concerned in its publication and must prove highly gratifying and useful to the public. The Legislature have authorized the sale of 250 Copies only of this Map. (on the large scale of five miles to the inch); and the Executive, with the view of

making the sale as extensive and rapid as possible, have directed the copies to be disposed of at the moderate price of \$20.

"Under these circumstances, it is probable that persons who shall not make early application, will be unable to obtain a Copy of this beautiful and valuable work."

August 3, 1827.

CHAPTER XVI.

FORMATION OF CITIES.

Of the first metropolis, Jamestown, selected by the settlers, because of its convenient situation, and security against the savages, we read that in 1611 "it hath two rows of houses of framed timber, some of them two stories and a garret higher, three large Storehouses, joined together in length and hee (Gov. Dale) hath newly strongly impaled the towne."

For some years after this, the history of the town was scarcely separable from that of the colony. It continued to increase and improve slowly in its way, until 1641 at Sir William Berkeley's arrival, "when it took a sudden start, and to signalize his administration, he caused thirty-two brick houses to be built in it, at public expense and occupied one of them himself. Also he caused a brick church to be erected and the burying ground attached to it, to be enclosed with a substantial brick wall."

A portion of the steeple of the church then built or the one subsequently constructed on its site, may still be seen and two feet of the walls; the old tower standing as a sentinel, guarding, all the past years, the resting place of the first settlers and many of their successors,

Here lies buried Lady Berkeley, who remained behind when Sir William returned to England in 1677: no monument marked her grave, and therefore the exact spot can not be identified. Here also lie Rev. Commissary Blair and his wife, Rev. Robert Hunt and many others, the recall

of whose names now must rest upon conjecture: for doubtless not even the death and interment of Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold, in honor of whom all the Ordnance in the fort was shot off, was marked beyond the *in memoriam* of Percy's list,—and yet he was the admiral and pilot for the first founders, and “honorable member” of the Virginia Council.



RUINS AT JAMESTOWN.

An act was passed by the Assembly in October, 1660, for building a State House, in James City “for the Right Honorable the governor, and council to keep courts and for future Grand Assemblies to meet in.” “This building was erected under the superintendence of Sir William Berkeley and a committee, consisting of Col. William Barber, Col. Gerard Fowkes, Col. Kendall, Mr. Thomas Warren, Mr. Raleigh Traverse, and Mr. Thomas Lucas. It was built of bricks, made in or near the town; and it is supposed that this State House adjoined Sir William’s own residence.”

On September 19, 1676, Jamestown was burned by Bacon's troops: the State House, governor's own home and the 32 brick houses, together with the church,—which was lower down,—were all destroyed, the magazine being the only building left.

Partly rebuilt, Jamestown was again visited by a destructive fire, on October 31, 1698, which deprived the colonists



BURNING OF JAMESTOWN.

From an old print, 1834, said to be an accurate picture.

of a State Building the second time. No further effort was made to restore the ill-fated town, but, instead, another seat of government was chosen.

As time passed, the main portion of Jamestown, never very large, west of the old steeple, became submerged in the river.¹

Jamestown island, becoming the property of the Jaquelin-Ambler connection, long remained the residence of this

¹ Virginia Historical Register.

family. The last member of the family born at the old homestead was John Jaquelin Ambler, of whom a portrait is here given. When he moved to the upper country and became domiciled at Glen Ambler, in Amherst county, he brought with him a collection of family portraits. This Ambler left a very carefully prepared Mss. volume of the family history, with space for its continuance by descendants. A connection of this family owns Dunmore's old hall clock, still in running order; other relics, of the 18th century, are preserved by this family.

In the year 1633 "every fortieth man in the neck of land between the James and the York, (called Charles River at that time) was directed to repair to the plantation of Dr. John Pott, to be employed in building houses and securing that tract of land lying between Queen's Creek emptying into Charles River, and Archer's Hope Creek emptying into James River."

This was the beginning of the settlement at Middle Plantation; so called because it lay between the two rivers. Each person settling there was entitled to fifty acres of land and exemption from general taxes. This, the oldest incorporated town, was settled from the adjoining plantations.

When the State House and prison at Jamestown were burned in 1698, the general courts and assemblies were moved, together with the residence of the governor, "seven miles distant," to Middle Plantation, considered at this time more convenient and healthier, and now christened Williamsburg,² in honor of the ruling sovereign.

² Howison, Vol. I, p. 389. "Previous to the revolution Virginia presented a phase of human life almost unknown in the history of the world. She was without cities for her single town contained but 18 dwellings, with a state house and time-honoured church."



JOHN JAQUELIN AMBLER,

son of John, the last Ambler proprietor at Jamestown,— was the last of his name born at the island home. He moved to his estate, in Amherst county, called *Glen-Ambler* which has since been the residence of the oldest branch of this family, now represented by Mr. Beverley Ambler, a grandson.

An act was passed on April, 1699, for building a capitol in the new metropolis. The governor, Nicholson, laid out the city in the form of a cipher by joining the letters, W. and M; the lots having upon them dwelling and warehouses. The principal buildings constructed were the college, the capitol, the governor's house and the church.

The edifice erected on the land (purchased for the college) was occupied by the House of Burgesses, from 1700, until it was burned in 1704.

Williamsburg was for nearly eighty years the capital of the colony, and for three years, the state capital, till the seat of government was transferred to Richmond.

In 1700 among the articles upon which a tax was laid for the building of a Capitol, were the servants imported, not being natives of England or Wales, fifteen shillings per poll, and twenty shillings on every negro or *other slave*.

"At the end of a street just three quarters of a mile in length stands the Capitol,³ a noble, beautiful and commodious pile, built at the cost of the late queen (Anne) and by direction of the Governor. In this is the Secretary's office with all the courts of law and justice, held in the same form and near the same manner as in England, except the ecclesiastical courts. Here the Governor and twelve councillors sit as judges in the general courts in April and October, whither trials and causes are removed from courts held at the courthouses monthly in every county by a bench of justices and a county clerk. Here also are held the Oyer and Terminer Courts, one in summer and the other in winter, added, by the charity of the late queen, for the prevention of prisoners lying in jail above a quarter of a year before their trial.

³Burned in 1746, soon rebuilt. This structure was also burned April, 1832.

"The building is in the form of an H nearly. In each wing is a good staircase, one leading to the council chamber, where the governor and council sit in very great state, in imitation of the king and his council. Over the portico is a large room where conferences are held and prayers are read by the chaplain to the general assembly, which office I⁴ have had the honor some years to perform: * * * *
Upon the middle is raised a lofty cupola with a large clock.



OLD CAPITOL AT WILLIAMSBURG.

"The whole is surrounded with a neat area, encompassed with a good wall and near it is a strong, *sweet* prison for criminals and on the other side of the open court another for debtors; but such prisoners are rare, the creditors being there very merciful and the laws so favorable, that some esteem them too indulgent.

⁴ Rev. Hugh Jones.

"The cause of my describing the capitol so particularly is because it is the best and most commodious pile of its kind that I have seen or heard of. The use of fire, candles, or tobacco is prohibited in the capitol because the state house at Jamestown, and the college here have been burned down."

The first building erected for a capitol (here described by Jones) was burnt in 1746; shortly afterwards another was built, but this shared the same fate in April 1832. This is known in history as the Old Capitol, where Patrick Henry, with "the air of an obscure and unpolished rustic" astonished all by "the rugged might and majesty of his eloquence" and introduced resolutions which being adopted, made Virginia foremost in opposition to arbitrary measures of England's Parliament.

Historic Bruton Church,⁵ named from the parish, and rich in associations of two centuries and more, is the most interesting building in Williamsburg; "it is a large strong piece of brick-work in the form of a cross, nicely regular and convenient and adorned as the best churches in London, Imbedded in its walls are four memorial tablets and outside a churchyard of age equalling its own, is filled with the tombs of other years. To this church now belongs the old silver communion service, from Jamestown Church, of massive silver; the cup belonging to which bears the inscription 'Mix not holy things with profane.'"

The old powder magazine, known at first as the Octagon Magazine, was the one, for the robbing the contents of which, Dunmore was brought to a settlement. Afterwards this served in turn as a church, a market, a dancing school and a stable.

⁵ The gubernatorial pew of Spotswood, raised from the floor, covered with a canopy, on which his name in gilt was written, remained many years in this church.—Howe.

Another interesting building was the old Raleigh tavern, burned in 1860, in which balls were held in colonial times: later it was the rendezvous for Revolutionary heroes. In 1724 Williamsburg had been incorporated and made a market town.

Campbell gives a copy of the letter addressed by the King to the archbishops at the time efforts were being made to establish a college at Henrico; which was to the "*Most reverend father in God and well beloved counsellor.*" "You have heard ere this time of the attempt of divers worthy men, our subjects, to plant in Virginia (under the warrant of our letters' patents) people of this kingdom as well as for the enlarging of our dominions, as for the propagation of the gospel amongst infidels: Whereon there is good progress made and hope of further increase: So as the undertakers of that plantation are now in hand with the erecting of some churches and schools for the education of the children of those barbarians, which cannot but be to them a very great charge and above the expense, which for the civil plantation, doth come to them.

"In which we doubt not but that you, and all others who wish well to the increase of Christian religion, will be willing to give all assistance and furtherance you may, and therein to make experience of the zeal and devotion of our well-minded subjects, especially those of the clergy. Wherefore we do require you, and hereby authorize you, to write your letters to the several bishops of the dioceses in your province, that they do give order to the ministers and other zealous men of their dioceses, both by their own example in contribution and by exhortation to others to move our people within their several charges to contribute to so good a work, in as liberal a manner as they may; for the better advancing

whereof our pleasure is, that those collections be made in all the particular parishes, four several times within these two years next coming; and that the several accounts of each parish, together with the moneys collected be returned from time to time to the bishops of the dioceses and by them be transmitted half yearly to you; and so to be delivered to the treasurer of that plantation to be employed for the godly purposes intended and none other.⁶

With the settlement of families in homes, there succeeded many efforts at providing for the benefits of education. "A sum of money had been collected by the English bishops, by direction of the king, for the maintenance of an institution in Virginia for the Christian education of Indian children and various steps were taken by the company towards the foundation of a colonial college. This latter project was agitated as early as 1617 and was discussed in the first Assembly at Jamestown in 1619. Henrico City was the selected location for this college, 15,000 acres of land were reserved for the fund, and money was contributed in the mother country, but the design was abandoned on account of the Indian massacre of 1622."

Various later attempts were made at different times to found a college, but without effect; until the year 1691 at the instance of Rev. James Blair, (commissary of the Bishop of London) a liberal subscription was raised and an act passed to establish at Middle Plantation the college⁷ which has sent forth from its walls so many illustrious alumni. Of this college Gov. Francis Nicholson and others were nominated as incorporators. The Rev. Mr. Blair was

⁶ Stith, *History of Virginia*, p. 159.

⁷ "The site selected was in the Middle Plantation Old Fields near the church."

sent to England to solicit a charter from King William and Queen Mary: and on February 8, 1692, he had the royal grant given him.

Empowered by this instrument the trustees could hold lands to the value of £2,000 per annum. The king gave them £1,985 to be applied towards building and one penny per pound on all tobacco exported from Maryland and



WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE, WILLIAMSBURG.

Virginia for the support of the institution, with one-half of the surveyor's fees and 20,000 acres of land "to be held by them and their successors forever paying to their Majesties and their Successors two copies of Latin verses yearly and nothing more."

Virginia had been tardy in acknowledging allegiance to the royal patrons of its college. William, Prince of Orange, landed at Torbay in November, 1688, and he and Mary, (daughter of James II,) were proclaimed King and Queen on February 13, 1689, the coronation taking place April 11th of the same year. They had been seated on the throne

several months before they were proclaimed in Virginia, the delay being due to the reiterated pledges of fealty made by the Council to James II. and from the fear that he might be restored to the kingdom.

Some of the Virginians insisted as there was no king in England, so there was a vacancy in the executive of the colony.

"At length, in compliance with the repeated commands of the privy council, William and Mary were proclaimed at James City, April, 1689, Lord and Lady of Virginia. This event with the circumstances connected with it, was duly announced to the lords commissioners of plantations in a letter dated April 29th, by Nicholas Spencer, Secretary of State.⁹

"The accession of this Prince dispelled the clouds of discontent and alarm, inspiring the people with hopeful anticipations. For about seventy years Virginia had been subject to the house of Stuart and there was little in the retrospect to awaken regret at their downfall."

Queen Mary died of smallpox in 1694.

William III. died in March, 1701.

"In fondness of prerogative William III. shewed himself, a grandson of Charles the First. The government of Virginia under him was not materially improved. His successor, Anne, sister of Mary, in compliance with requests of the Assembly granted the war-like stores, which were to be paid out of the quitrents. The preceding reign had seriously interrupted Virginia's commerce and customary supplies; the Queen now encouraged the domestic manufacture of linen and wool."

⁹ Campbell, pp. 343-363.

"Nicholson in a memorial to the Council of trade described the Virginians as numerous (40,000) rich and of *republican* principles, such as ought to be lowered; that then or never was the time to maintain the Queen's prerogative and stop pernicious notions, which were increasing daily and a frown from her majesty now, would do more than an army thereafter; he insisted on the necessity of a standing army."

The trustees of the college in December, 1693, purchased of Thomas Ballard 330 acres of land in James City county.

The Rev. Hugh Jones, A. M., "Chaplain to the honorable Assembly and lately minister in Jamestown" in his *Present State of Virginia* (1724) described the college then standing "the front looking due east, which is double, and is 136 feet long; alofty pile of brick buildings, adorned with a cupola. At the north end runs back a large wing, which is a handsome hall, answerable to which the chapel is to be built, and there is a spacious piazza on the west side, from one wing to the other. It is approached by a good walk and a grand entrance by steps, with good courts and gardens about it; with a good house and apartments for the Indian master and his scholars and outhouses; and a large pasture enclosed, like a park, with about 150 acres adjoining."

"The building is beautiful and commodious, being first modelled by Sir Christopher Wren, and adapted to the nature of the country by the gentlemen there; since it was burned down it has been rebuilt, altered and adorned by the ingenious direction of Governor Spotswood."

The college was burned 170⁴ (again February 8, 1859.)

Duties on furs and skins were granted for the college support, besides "several additional benefactions." "A late contribution of £1,000 to buy negroes for college use and service," was made.

"The trustees appoint a person to whom they grant several privileges and allowances, to board and lodge the masters and scholars at extraordinary cheap rates.

"This office is at present performed in the neatest and most regular and plentiful manner by Mrs. Mary Stith, a gentlewoman of great worth and discretion."

"There was a commencement at William and Mary College in 1700, at which was a great concourse of people; several planters came thither in coaches and others in sloops from New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland, it being a new thing in that part of America to hear graduates perform their exercises. The Indians themselves had the curiosity, some of them, to visit Williamsburg upon that occasion; and the whole country rejoiced as if they had some relish of learning.⁸"

An early issue of the Gazette contained the notice from Williamsburg, November 12, 1736. "On this day se'night, being the fifth day of November, the president, masters and scholars, of Wiliam and Mary College went, according to their annual custom, in a body, to the governor's to present his honor with two copies of Latin verses, in obedience to their charter, as a grateful acknowledgment for two valuable tracts of land given said college by their late King William, and Queen Mary.

"Mr. President delivered the verses to his honor; and two of the young gentlemen spoke them. It is further observed there were upwards of sixty scholars present; a much greater number than has been any year before since the foundation of the college."

The war proving disastrous to Williamsburg, the capitol was moved further inland to a place at which state interests have since centered.

⁸ Campbell, p. 362.

In 1609 Master West, member of the Council, went up to the Falls of James River to search for provisions. The same year West was sent with a colony of 120 men to settle there.

In 1644 the Assembly ordered a fort to be erected at the Falls to be called "ffort Charles."

In 1646 an act was passed "Whereas there is no plantable land adjoining to ffort Charles and no encouragement for any undertaker to maintaine the same, it is enacted, That if any person purchasing the right of Captain Thomas Harris shall seat on the south side of the river, opposite the fforte this or the ensuing yeare, he shall have the houseing belonging to the ffort for the use of timber or by burning them for the nailes, shall be exempted from the publique taxes for three years, the number not to exceed ten persons * * * * as shall also have the boats and ammunion belonging to the ffort."

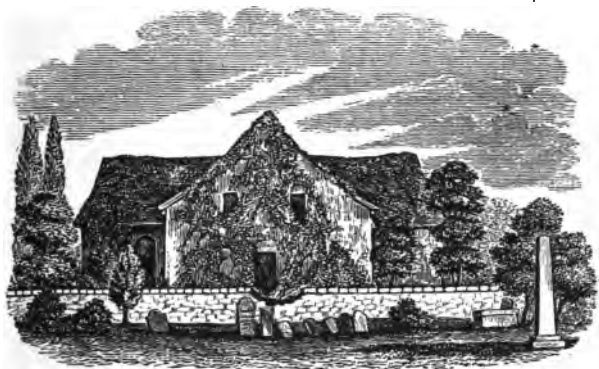
"At the time of the Indian war in 1675, forty-five men out of James City county were garrisoned near the ffalls at Captain Byrd's, or at a ffort over against him, at Newlett's of which Coll. Edward Ramsay was chiefe commander."

"In 1679 Col. Byrd, Sr., was granted certain privileges provided he settled fifty able bodied and well armed men in the vicinity of the falls to act as a barrier to the frontier against the Indians."

Col. Byrd in 1732 describes his plantation (called Byrd's Warehouse,) to which he drove in his chariot, as of a wild prospect, upwards and downwards, the river full of rocks over which the stream tumbled. And there is an account from Burnaby's Travels of "Belvedere upon a hill at the lower end of the falls commanding a fine view of the river,

half a mile broad, with islands scattered about and a prodigious extent of wilderness."⁹

In 1733 Col. Byrd writes in his Journal "on a journey to Roanoke (Randolph's home) the plan of Richmond and Petersburg was conceived. We laid the foundation of two large cities, one at Shacco's, to be called Richmond; the other at the point of Appomattox river, to be called Petersburg. "These Major Mayo offered to lay off into lots without fee or reward."



BLANDFORD CHURCH, PETERSBURG.

The following advertisement appeared in the Virginia Gazette in April, 1737: "This is to give notice that on the north side of James river near the uppermost landing and a little below the falls, is lately laid off by Major Mayo, a town called Richmond, with streets sixty-five feet wide in a pleasant and healthy situation and well supplied with springs and good water. It lies near the public warehouse at Shockoe's and in the midst of great quantities of grain

⁹ Cited by Howe.

and all kinds of provisions. The lots will be granted in fee simple on condition only of building a house in three years' time, of twenty-four by sixteen feet, fronting within five feet of the street. The lots to be rated according to the convenience of their situation and to be sold after this April general court by me, William Byrd."

Established in 1737, the town of Richmond became incorporated in 1742 on land belonging to Col. Byrd (who died, 1744, in the reign of King George II.) It was named for Richmond on the Thames from the supposed resemblance of its situation.

The assailable position of Williamsburg in 1777 caused the removal of the troops ammunition and public records to Richmond and two years later the seat of government, by act of Assembly, was changed to this place.

Jefferson in explaining the design selected for the capitol at Richmond says "we took for our model what is called the Maison Quarree of Nismes, one of the most beautiful, if not the most beautiful, and precious morsels of architecture left us by antiquity. It was built by Caius and Lucius Caesar and repaired by Louis XIV. and has the suffrage of all the judges of architecture who have seen it as yielding to no one of the beautiful monuments of Greece, Rome, Palmyra and Balbec, which late travellers have communicated to us."

In 1750 one John Wood, architect, of Bath, England, published the "Illustrations of Baalbec and Palmyra" the fame of which created a taste for Roman magnificence. English taste in architecture reached America in simplified form, as to decoration, but preserved the imposing grandeur of the main entrance.



THE CAPITOL AT RICHMOND.

Upper Norfolk County formed in March, 1645, was changed to Nansiman: Lower Norfolk was in 1691 divided in two parts, one called Norfolk County, the other Princess Ann.

Norfolk, on the north bank of Elizabeth river, near the junction of its southern and eastern branches, was first established by law as a town in October, 1705, in the fourth year of the reign of Queen Anne; at which time its favorable situation for trade had gathered a considerable population.¹¹

Col. Byrd writes of Norfolk in the year 1728 "it has most the air of a town of any in Virginia, and has all the advantages of situation requisite for trade and navigation. The town is built on a level spot upon the river, the banks whereof are neither so low as to be in danger of overflowing, nor so high as to make the landing of goods troublesome: The streets are straight and adorned with several good houses, which increase every day. It is not a town of Ordinaries and public houses, like most others in this country, but the inhabitants consist of merchants, ship-carpenters, and other useful artisans, with sailors enough to manage their navigation. With these advantages, however, it lies under two great disadvantages, by having neither good air nor good water. The two cardinal virtues, that make a place thrive, industry and frugality, are seen here in perfection.

Norfolk was formed into a borough on September 15, 1736, by royal charter from George II. Sir John Randolph, though not a resident, was appointed recorder, and he presented to the corporation, a silver mace, weighing several pounds.

¹¹ Howe, p. 112. In January, 1776, Norfolk contained 6,000 inhabitants, and was then the most populous town in Virginia.

Its fine harbor made Norfolk a great naval depot, as it admitted vessels of the largest size. At the completion of the Dismal Swamp Canal, its facilities for trade greatly increased.

By act of legislature April 24, 1845, Norfolk became established as a city.

A VISIT FROM GOVERNOR TYLER TO NORFOLK,

MAY 19, 1826.

(*From the Norfolk Herald.*)

"Our distinguished fellow-citizen, John Tyler, Governor of Virginia, is now on a visit to this place, attended by Col. Pendleton of the Executive Council, and Colonel Crozet, Engineer to the Board of Public Works,—having arrived on Sunday night in the steamboat, *Petersburg*. On Monday



ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, NORFOLK.

the Governor paid a visit to Fortress Monroe to examine the situation and military works of that place and returned in the evening. On Tuesday morning he set out for the

Dismal Swamp Canal and Lake Drummond, with Colonels Pendleton and Crozet, accompanied by several of the Directors and other citizens. He expressed great pleasure and admiration at the magnitude and importance of the canal, which very far exceeded his expectations and enlisted his best wishes in its behalf.

"The weather being excessively warm, the party did not return until Wednesday evening. Yesterday the Governor paid a visit to the Navy Yard, where he was received with the utmost hospitality and attention by the worthy commander, Com. Barron, with whom after viewing the various departments of the Yard and other objects of interest, he partook of a collation, with a number of our most esteemed citizens, who accompanied him thither.

"On his return from the Navy Yard to his lodgings (at Mrs. Murphy's boarding house) the 54th regiment under the command of Colonel Allmand, being on parade, marched in review before the governor, he receiving the passing salute, standing in the balcony, uncovered. The Governor then, with the gentlemen accompanying him, and several of our citizens, repaired on board the Macedonian frigate to dine with Captain Biddle, where they were entertained in elegant style and spent a most agreeable afternoon. The Governor will take the steamboat this afternoon on his return to Richmond.

"The dignified simplicity of his manners, his frank and unostentatious deportment, involuntarily commanded for Governor Tyler the warm attachment and respect of all of our citizens, who have had the pleasure of associating with him during his stay among them and peculiarly adapt him for the office of Chief Magistrate of a purely republican people."

In 1680 the Assembly authorized the establishment of towns¹² on selected sites, one for each county; twenty were provided by special enactment. This was for "the encouragement of trade and manufacture" and restricted vessels to certain prescribed ports, where the government desired the towns to be established. But this did not accord with the taste or interest of the planters, who had acquired a preference for the more independent life on their plantations, the residence part of which they called their *manor places*; therefore the law resulted largely in creating merely *paper towns*.

Parishes grew up with the formation of every new county, church and state moving hand in hand. In 1688 the province contained 48 parishes; a church was built in every parish and a house and glebe assigned to the clergyman, (along with a stipend, fixed by law at 16,000 pounds of tobacco). The glebe and courthouse were the pivots around which all interests revolved, to which all of the community must go for counsel, redress or correction: even if the distance of fifty miles or more intervened between them and the inhabitant. But no amount of inconvenience weakened the devotion of the planters to their country homes.

Virginia, the oldest of the states, which ranked as to population in 1790, first in number,—in the year 1853 had fallen fourth in rank; many newer states held a larger municipal population in proportion to their size, while the preference for country life, in the Old Dominion, was manifested in the census returns of only seven per cent. of her population then registered in cities or towns.

¹² Towns and counties received their names largely from those of prominent statesmen; in 1853 there were 100 Jeffersons and Jacksons, a folio of Washingtons and Franklins, just as in colonial times names of the royal families had been popular.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE KNIGHT OF THE GOLDEN HORSESHOE.

“ Colonel and Member of his Majesty’s Council.”

“The Governor represented the King: he was Commander in Chief, and Vice Admiral; Lord Treasurer, in issuing warrants for the paying of moneys; Lord Chancellor, as passing grants under the company’s seal; President of the Council; Chief Justice of the courts with powers of a Bishop. The Governor and Council were all *colonels* and *honorable*s. The Council, being appointed at his nomination, were in effect clients of the Governor, receiving office and place from him; they held the powers of council of state of upper house of Assembly, like the English House of Lords, in the general court of supreme judges: as colonels, were county- lieutenants, naval officers in the customs department, collectors of the revenue and farmers of the King’s quitrents.”¹

In commerce, wealth and power, the colony had made rapid strides, and when at Spotswood’s arrival he found a few families “affecting to establish an aristocracy” he thought it necessary “to have a balance on the Bench and the Board.”

Whereas the great bulk of the inhabitants were *planters*, that is, agriculturists, from this class arose many of the most distinguished citizens. The leading men were to some extent educated, often receiving the advantages from

¹ Wirt. Life of Henry, p. 39.

attendance at English Colleges. Intercourse, from dependence upon England, increased opportunities for advancement. Slaughter says the vestry books of men of wealth hasled to the erroneous conclusion that they were mechanics² and did the works with their own hands.

By the freeholders the burgesses were elected; who constituted the Assembly, representing the English house of Commons.³ Previous to the year 1680, "the Council sat in the same House with the Burgesses, when the Lord Culpeper taking advantage of some disputes among them, procured the Council to sit apart from the Assembly, and they then became two distinct Houses."⁴

Upon the election of the burgesses, there was held a court of claims, where all who had any claims against the public might present them to the burgesses, together with any propositions or grievances; all of which were carried to the Assembly by the burgesses. The confusion in the laws and difficulty of knowing which were active, caused mistakes in the county courts on the part of justices, who though commissioned officers, were not necessarily educated in law; and the old stock of gentry who came from England were better acquainted with law and business of the world, than their sons and grandsons.⁴ In collections, while the county levy for county expenses was assessed by justices of the peace, or magistrates,—the public levy was assessed by the Assembly, for the general expenses of the colony.

One Assembly expelled two burgesses, for serving without compensation, which they considered as tantamount to

²The country consisting of dispersed plantations was unfavorable for mechanics, then called tradesmen."—Campbell, 350.

³ Wirt.

⁴ Beverley Edition, 1722.

bribery:⁵ The high spirit of this same Assembly was outraged by Spotswood's charge "that their election had been through the people's mistaken choice," an offensive speech calling forth a reproof from the board of trade to which he replied, "that some men are always dissatisfied, if they are not allowed to govern."

The Assembly held itself entitled to all the rights and privileges of an English parliament: and while the governor might silence the opposition of the Council by official patronage, he could not hold the burgesses in check, at all times.

One of the Council appointed under Gov. Edmund Andros was Col. Daniel Parke, the son of "Rebecca Evelyn⁵ and ye Honorable Daniel Parke" (sometime Secretary of the Colony and a member of what was called the Long Parliament in respect of its duration from 1660 to 1676.)

Colonel Parke married Lucy Ludwell and had two daughters, Lucy, who married Colonel William Byrd, and Francis who married John Custis. Their son John Parke Custis married Martha Dandridge, (these were great grand-parents of Mary Custis, Mrs. Robert E. Lee.)

Col. Daniel Parke, member of Council, was collector and naval officer of the lower district of James river and escheator between York and Rappahannock rivers.

He was "aid-de-camp to his grace, the Duke of Marlborough, during the famous campaign in Germany in 1704, and had the honor to be sent by the Duke with the news of

⁵ Campbell.

⁶ George Evelyn,—the father of Rebecca,—born in London 1598, was a descendant of George Evelyn, who first brought the art of making gun-powder to perfection in England. He emigrated to Maryland in 1636 and was governor of Kent Island, Maryland, but returned to England, where he died.—Brown.

the glorious Battle of Blenheim,⁷ for which the Queen gave him her miniature set in diamonds and £1,000, and at the request of the Duke made him Governor-in-Chief and Captain-General of the Leeward Islands. Afterwards she sent him a magnificent silver service, in open work design and engraved with his coat of arms, pieces of which are still owned by his descendants.

Colonel Parke's portrait, painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, 1707, shewing the exquisite miniature, hangs with the Lee Collection of paintings in Washington and Lee Gallery.

The "Life of Marlborough" by Wolseley Vol. I, p. 96 contains a fac-simile of the original note preserved in the family archives at Blenheim, "one of the most curious memorials which perhaps exists"—the announcement of the victory at Blenheim. It runs thus,

"I have not time to say more, but to beg you will give my duty to the Queen and let her know her army has had a glorious victory. M. Tallard and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following the rest. The rest, my aide-de-camp, Colonel Parke, will give her an account of what has passed. I shall do it, in a day or two by another more at large.

MARLBOROUGH."

This note to the Duchess, was written on a slip of paper which was evidently torn from a memorandum book, and which may have belonged to some commissary. Colonel

⁷ The battle which occurred at Blenheim, the Bavarian village upon the Danube, on August 13, 1704, is known by 3 different names. In France it is known as Hockstet, in Germany as Plentheim and in England as Blenheim. Here the allied English, German, Dutch and Danes 52,000 under the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, defeated the French and Bavarians 55,000-60,000 under Tallard. The loss of the allies 11,000 to 12,000: That of the French and Bavarians supposed 40,000. *Voltaire Seicle de Louis, XIV, Vol. II, p. 127.*



COL. DANIEL PARKE.

Parke, the aid-de-camp, who was the bearer of this intelligence, requested to have the Queen's picture instead of the usual gratification of £500 and the request was granted."

William Byrd succeeded Col. Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., in December, 1687, as auditor of accounts of his Majesty's revenue in Virginia, a place he held for seventeen years and of which his Mss. accounts were preserved.⁸ Culpeper was then governor.

Under Governor Andros' administration William Byrd was appointed a member of the Council. In 1694 Colonel Byrd, of Westover, was sent, with several others, to England to defend Governor Andros against charges preferred against him by Commissary Blair, who was in London in the interest of the College.

In the second year of Queen Anne March, 1703, Nicholson, Lieutenant-Governor held a meeting in "the Royal College of William and Mary." At this meeting he summoned the House of Burgesses, and after commanding the Hon. William Byrd and several others of her Majesty's honorable Council to administer the oath to the burgesses, he delivered an address in which he informed them that her most sacred Majesty had been graciously pleased to send her royal picture and arms for her colony and dominion, and he did not doubt that they would join in paying most humble and dutiful acknowledgements and thanks for the great honor and favor bestowed upon the country, * * and in praying that she might not only equal but outdo her royal predecessor, Queen Elizabeth of ever gracious memory." He added,

"It is now within two years of a century since the colony's being first seated, at which time, if the Almighty

⁸ By Col. Byrd's assessment the quit-rents for 1703 amounted to £5745.



COLONEL WILLIAM BYRD, JR., of Westover.

and her Majesty shall be so pleased, I design to celebrate^o a jubilee and that the inhabitants thereof may increase exceedingly and also abound with riches and honors and have extraordinary good success in all their undertakings but chiefly that they may be exemplary in their lives and conversations, loyal to the church of England and to the crown. I question not but you will most cordially join with me in hearty prayers for them."

The famous seat of Westover originally comprised 2,000 acres of land patented by Capt. Thomas Paulett, January 15, 1637, who dying in 1643, left his Virginia property to his brother, Sir John Paulett, and he on April 17, 1665, sold the Westover estate of 1,200 acres, dwellinghouse and farm buildings, for £170 sterling to Theoderick Bland; from whom it descended to his sons. They in turn sold to Col. William Byrd, Sr., conveying it by deed bearing date February 14, 1688, for £300 sterling and £10,000 tobacco.

Westover was at one time the seat of Charles City county, and the parish church was also in its limits. The famed mansion was built in 1737 by Colonel Byrd: in 1749 it was damaged by fire but was restored.

Col. William Byrd, Jr., inherited this fine estate from his father. The author of the Westover Mss., and an authority on Colonial history of his day, the library he left contained, besides, ancient records of much value to the state.

"In the close of Spotswood's administration a controversy respecting boundaries was settled in a way to prevent continuance of embittered feeling. Settlements were forbidden beyond the Nottoway and Meherrin rivers, till the commrs. appointed could survey the land and mark the bounds. Among the Virginia Commissioners was Col.

^o In 1807 occurred the first celebration.

William Byrd, a gentleman of great wealth, talents and untiring industry. He kept a journal of the route and proceedings of the surveys. After this survey, the controversy was in a great measure ended, though legislation was applied to the subject from time to time.¹⁰



SURVEYING INSTRUMENTS OF COL. WM. BYRD,
used in marking the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina.

The surveying instruments owned by Byrd are now exhibited at the Virginia Historical Society rooms.

Colonel Byrd died in 1744, aged 70 years, and was buried at Westover.

Keith mentions the practice of permitting the Governor to reside in England, giving him twelve hundred pounds

¹⁰ Howison, Vol. I, p. 423.

for doing nothing, and his lieutenant eight hundred for doing all the work of Governor. The Earl of Orkney appointed after Nicholson, held the office of governor for thirty-six years without crossing the Atlantic. Edward Nott arrived in 1705 to fill this office of Lieutenant-Governor, bringing a commission, from Queen Anne, as *Governor-General*, in order to inspire the people with respect. He and his successors, content with the smaller portion of the salary, were allowed to retain the chief title, as giving them more authority with the people.

During the fall after Nott's arrival, there was concluded a general revisal of the laws that had long been on hand. This governor procured the passage of an act providing for the building of a palace for the governor, and appropriating £3,000 to that object.

During this year the college of William and Mary was burned: here the Assembly had held their sessions for several years.

Governor Nott dying in August, 1706, (aged forty-nine years,) the Assembly erected to his memory a monument in the graveyard of Bruton church at Williamsburg. The inscription reads, "Under this marble rests ye ashes of his excellency, Edward Nott, late governor of this colony, who in his private character was a good Christian and in his public, a good Governor. By the prudence and justice of his administration he was deservedly esteemed a public blessing while he lived and when he died, it was a public calamity. "He departed this life the 23d day of August, 1706, aged thirty-nine years. In grateful remembrance of whose many virtues, the General Assembly of this Colony have erected this monument."

The policy of selecting military governors for Virginia,

occasioned the appointment of Col. Alexander Spotswood as deputy or lieutenant-governor under the commission of Orkney.

Bred in the army and uniting genius with energy, Spotswood gained distinction under Marlborough in the battle of Blenheim, where he served as deputy quarter-master and where he received a dangerous wound. While governor of the Colony he would show his guests a trophy—brought from the battlefield—a four pound ball which had struck his coat.

Bringing with him the right of Habeas Corpus “the most stringent curb that legislation ever imposed on tyranny”,¹¹ hitherto denied Virginia, and heralded by his connection with the war,—which annihilated for a season the strength of France,—Spotswood’s arrival was hailed with joy.

This gentleman, “whose memory Virginia will ever cherish with gratitude and pride”¹² “assumed the reigns of government on June 10, 1710, and had been in office but a short time, before he suggested plans for improvement. He concluded a treaty of peace with the ferocious tribes which had been drawn into the Tuscarora war, terrorizing the country: this left the frontier undisturbed by Indian incursions. A settlement of German Protestants, sent over by Queen Anne, had been effected under his auspices, in a hitherto unpeopled region, on the Rapidan river, at a village named after them, and here guided by him, many industries flourished.

In his address to the Assembly, November 17, 1714, Spotswood announced the death of Queen Anne, and the

¹¹ Macaulay.

¹² Campbell.



GOV. ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD

succession of George I.—the first of the Guelphs on the English throne, though maternally a grandson of James I.

Early in his administration, discovering a horse-pass, he effected a passage over the Blue Ridge, in commemoration of which, he received from George I. the honor of knighthood and was presented with a miniature golden horseshoe, having upon it the motto of the order he had established.

"Spotswood governed with almost universal content for thirteen years. The country was altered wonderfully and far more advanced and improved than in the whole century preceding. He built a fort called Fort Christina, where were instructed forty-seven Indian children, who loved and adored him. A law for the Regulation of the Indian Trade was projected by him whereby an easy provision was made by a perpetual fund, for instructing the Indian Children in the principles of Christianity and it succeeded wonderfully, until some designing merchants in London, who conceived their particular interest to be affected by that law, procured a repeal thereof from England, which unhappily put an end to the only practicable scheme, that had yet been attempted for converting the Indians.¹³

To Spotswood's knowledge of mathematics, the famous Octagon-Magazine, an object of such interest now through its association with colonial times and scenes, owes its construction; he also rebuilt the college, and made improvements in the governor's house and gardens.¹⁴

A dispute occurred between the burgesses and the governor relative to the removal of the court of James City county

¹³ Rev. Hugh Jones, "Present State of Virginia."

¹⁴ Campbell, p. 384.

from Jamestown to Williamsburg. Again he offended the pride of the Council when "Colonel and member of his Majesty's Council of Virginia" (who were also members of the Assembly, judges of the highest court, and county-lieutenants over militia) stood for a provincial title of nobility. These causes displaying the haughty spirit of



THE OLD MAGAZINE.

the Governor, occasioned the sending of anonymous letters to England,¹⁵ inveighing against him, and still another discord between Spotswood and the people was the question relating to the powers of the vestry, altogether resulting in the displacement in 1722 of the "accomplished governor."

Spotswood held the office of postmaster-general¹⁶ from

¹⁵ Col. Byrd went on a second mission to England; at the time when eight members of the Council, headed by Commissary Blair, complained that Spotswood had infringed the charter of the colony by associating inferior men with them in criminal trials. Failing as colonial agent against the governor, Byrd begged the Board of Trade to recommend forgiveness and moderation to both parties; which being done restored amicable relations between them.—Campbell.

¹⁶ At the time Spotswood was deputy P. M. General and according to a regulation adopted by him the mail coming from the North arrived in Williamsburg weekly and William Parks was commissioned to convey it monthly from Williamsburg *via* Nansemond C. H., and Norfolk-town to Edenton, N. C. The general P. O. was at New Post, a few miles below Fredericksburg.—Campbell.

1730 till 1739 for the colonies; this system was introduced into Virginia in 1718. As governor, Spotswood had written to the *board of trade*, that "the people were made to believe the parliament could not lay any tax (as they called rates of postage) on them without the consent of the general Assembly."¹⁷

Having been appointed to command troops, raised in the colonies for the attack upon Carthagena, Spotswood, now with the title of Major-General, was on the eve of embarking when his death occurred at Annapolis, June 7, 1740. He is said to have left a historical account of the colony from the time of his arrival till near that of his death, to which Bancroft had access and refers in his history. This Mss. long remained in the possession of the family; but was "lent to an English geologist, Mr. Featherstonaugh, travelling for scientific purposes in America, and is supposed (1860) to be still in Europe in his possession."¹⁸

From the history of Charles Campbell we gather a very full and interesting account of Spotswood's passage over the Blue Ridge mountains, the first complete discovery made of these highlands.

Campbell gives the date 1716, two years later than earlier histories state it to have been undertaken. "The Governor accompanied by John Fontaine,—an ensign from the British army lately come to Virginia,—started from Williamsburg over the *Appalachian Mountains*, (then so called:) crossing the York at the Brick House, they lodged that night at the seat of Austin Moore, now Chelsea, on the Mattapony, a few miles above its junction with the

¹⁷ Campbell, p. 407.

¹⁸ Howison, Vol. I., p. 418.

Pamunkey. On the following night they were hospitably entertained by Robert Beverley, the historian, at his residence in Middlesex. The Governor left his chaise¹⁹ there and mounted his horse for the rest of the journey, when Beverley accompanied him. On the 26th of August Spotswood was joined by several other gentlemen. Besides Fontaine and Beverley, these were Col. Robertson, Austin Taylor, Mason Brooke, and Captains Clouder and Smith; two small companies of rangers, four Meherrin Indians, and servants; altogether about fifty persons. They carried with them a large number of riding and pack horses, abundant provisions and a variety of liquors. Having their horses shod, they left Germantown on August 29th and encamped that night three miles from Germanna.

Aroused in the morning by the trumpet, they proceeded westward: at night they lay on the boughs of trees under tents. Thirty-six days after Spotswood had set out from Williamsburg, and on the 5th of September, a clear day at about one o'clock, the party after a toilsome ascent, reached the top of the mountain. As the company wound along, in perspective caravan line through the shadowy defiles, the trumpet for the first time awoke the echoes of the mountains. Here they drank the health of King George I. and all the royal family, on the highest summit, named by Spotswood Mt. George in honor of his Majesty; the next in height, was named for the Governor, by the gentlemen of the expedition.

Campbell gives the names of the variety of liquors they carried,—Virginia red and white wine, Irish usquebaugh, brandy, shrub, two kinds of rum, champagne, canary, cherry punch, cider, etc.

¹⁹ This chaise, or chariot, he advertises when preparing to leave Virginia, as having been looked upon as one of the best made, handsomest and easiest in London.—Gazette.

"On the 7th the rangers proceeded on a farther exploration and the rest of the company started homeward, arriving at Williamsburg on September 17th after six weeks' absence, having travelled, going and returning, 438 miles."²⁰

The Rev. Hugh Jones says for this expedition they had to provide a quantity of horse shoes, things seldom used in the eastern parts of Virginia, where there were no stones. Upon which account the Governor on his return presented each of his companions with a golden horse-shoe, some of which were covered with valuable stones, resembling heads of nails, with the inscription on one side "*Sic juvat transcendere montes.*" Spotswood instituted an order called "*Tramontane*" for the purpose of encouraging gentlemen to venture backward and make discoveries and settlements; any one being entitled to wear this golden horse-shoe, who could prove that he had drank his Majesty's health on the top of Mount George.

²⁰ A poem (by Dr. F. O. Ticknor of Augusta, Georgia), has been written commemorating the knights "who rode with Spotswood round the land

And Raleigh round the seas. * * * * *
Who climbed the blue Virginia hills
Against embattled foes,
And planted there in vallies fair
The lily and the rose."

CHAPTER XVIII.

RIVAL CLAIMANTS.

Besides the several unpleasantnesses with the mother country—the result of restrictions and exactions—and distressing interruptions through invasions of savages, there were other “trying of conclusions” to distract the attention of the colonists from carrying on their work.

Preceding them in America, had come some of the Latin races of Southern Europe, now well established in the country, and claiming priority of possession.

Spaniards were southeast of them, Frenchmen northwest of them, and there seemed a fair chance of check-mating the bold invaders of the Powhatan territory.

Spain's jealousy of England's acquirements along the shore of the Chesapeake, became actively aroused through the reports of her ministers to their king. The plottings of these agents and their intrigues at the English court, for the frustration of Virginia plans, by diverting interest from the American enterprise into other directions, Alex. Brown gives in detail.

This author brings to our notice “An accurate description of how Virginia is situated,” in which these plotters against competition in the New World, undertake to enlighten the Spanish King concerning Virginia's topography.

“Virginia is situated on firm land on the continent of the West Indies * * * * It has three streams, and on one of these are plantations or fortifications. The river

is called Zanagadoa; it is twelve fathoms deep and a hundred miles, more or less, long. There is no other harbour, but this they call Jamestown, which means Jacob's Town.

"It is very important that your Majesty should command that an end be put to those things done in Virginia. If an end is made of those who are now there, which can be easily done, they will not dare go on with their plans."

The colonists seemed to be on the lookout for attacks from Spaniards, for when the seven vessels rode through the storm and arrived in Virginia in August, 1609, so considerable a fleet caused alarm, and believing them to be Spaniards, the president (Smith) prepared to greet them warmly with shot from the fort: the Indians came forward and offered their aid in defending the settlement. And "in the first days of 1613 the English government was in expectation of a Spanish invasion and on January 10th the Council ordered the sheriffs to search the houses of recusants for arms. But the Spaniards persuaded themselves that the colony would certainly die out of itself, and they, resolving to leave the matter to diplomacy rather than to arms, replaced their ambassador in England by one of the ablest diplomatists in their service."

The diplomatist, Molina, was one of the passengers aboard the Treasurer, which conveyed Pocahontas to England.

The Virginia Historical Register of 1848 makes known a blind prophecy having a lucky hit (through the republication of a pamphlet published in 1648) when the futility of the attempt to undermine English plans was demonstrated convincingly to the stoutest-hearted plotter.

This pamphlet published in London in 1649 contains the prophecy of the war with Mexico and the West Indies,

so far ahead of the actual occurrence of those events as to be indeed remarkable: "It is well known that our English plantations have had little countenance, nay, that our statesmen (when time was) had store of Gondemore's gold to destroy and discontinue that plantation of Virginia, and he affected it in a great part by dissolving the Company, wherein most of the nobility, gentry, corporate cities and most merchants of England were interested and engaged, after the expense of some £100,000. For Gondemar did affirm to his friends that he had commission from his master, the King of Spain, to destroy that plantation; 'for' said he, 'should they thrive and go on increasing as they have done, under that popular Lord of Southampton, my master's West Indies, and his Mexico would shortly be visited by sea and land, from those planters in Virginia.'"

"This prediction has been verified almost to the letter in the hostilities against Mexico, when that ill-starred country has been actually *visited* or invaded 'by sea and by land,' by those 'planters' (or sons of planters) from Virginia, Taylor and Scott, with many of their men also; the first attacking it by land near the Rio Grande and the last by sea at Vera Cruz. A still stronger case might be made of coincidence by taking the term *Virginia* in all the latitude of its meaning in the time of James I. when it was synonymous with British America and embraced a much larger part of the United States than at present (1848.)

"Count Gondemar was a very wary statesman who looked far ahead into the future with a sagacity that resembled foresight. It will be observed that the other part of the prophecy remains to be fulfilled."¹

¹ Virginia Historical Register, 1850.



GEN. WINFIELD SCOTT,

Commander-in-Chief U. S. Army, born in Petersburg, Virginia, June 13, 1785-
Conspicuous in war with Mexico, 1848.

The truth of this prophecy became the daughter of time when descendants of planters, or of settlers of the various colonies "visited by land and sea" the Spanish West Indies in 1898, and wrested Cuba from the grasp of oppression.

"Spain had acquired the ascendancy in the English Court and it was believed by some that James was even willing to sacrifice English interests in the colonies for the benefit of those of Spain" Campbell cites a letter from the Rev. Jonas Stockham, a minister in Virginia, written to the Council of the Virginia Company in May,

¹ pp. 176-7.

1621,² in which he says "There be many Italianated and Spaniolized Englishmen envies our prosperities, and by all their ignominious scandals they can devise, seeks to dishearten what they can those that are willing to further this glorious enterprise.

"To such I wish, according to the decree of Darius, that whosoever is an enemy to our peace and seeking either by monopolical patents or by forging unjust tales to hinder our welfare—that his house were pulled down and a pair of gallows made of the wood and he hanged on them in the place."

In 1633 "the Virginians were all under arms expecting a Spanish fleet."

A cause of waning interest in 1613 more injurious than Spanish intrigue, to the Virginia enterprise was an interest in the venture, nearer at hand, to colonize north-western Ireland.

"A new settlement grew out of a patent dated March 29, 1613, by which James the First incorporated the Irish Society under the name of 'The Governor and Assistants of the New Plantation of Ulster within the realm of Ireland.' A new county was erected which uniting the old name of Derry with its new Masters, the Corporations and Companies of London, is now called London-Derry." This diverted English capital, so that development of Virginia country was thereafter largely dependant upon individual investment and the industry of the colonists; for in place of the corporations formerly interested in the Virginia scheme, there now grew up the "Twelve Livery Companies of London" which had contributed £60,000 towards the new Irish settlement, and which now turned their attention to these newer lands of promise, more easily managed, because more accessible.³

² Cited by Brown.

The French pursued another mode of establishing their claims than by ingratiating themselves with court attendants.

In 1749 they deposited under ground at the mouth of the Kanawha and other places, leaden plates on which was inscribed the claim of Louis XV., to the whole country watered by the Ohio and its tributaries. England claimed the same territory upon the ground of the treaty at Lancaster, and cession made by the Iroquois Indians. From the first discovery of Virginia, England had claimed the country to the north and northwest, from ocean to ocean, and that the region in question was the contiguous back country of her settlements. The title of the native tribes inhabiting the country was not considered by either.

One of the French plates was found in 1846 deposited a few inches below the surface of the earth at the confluence of the Great Kanawha and Ohio Rivers. A curious relic shewing one of the modes adopted by Louis XV. for asserting and perpetuating his dominion over New France, the large extent of country embraced in the region lying west of the Alleghany chain of Mountains and extending from Canada to New Orleans.⁴

The plate is a flat piece of lead twelve inches long and eight inches wide and about an eighth of an inch thick. The inscription, somewhat worn, is in old French words all in capitals and translated, reads, "In the year 1749 in the reign of Louis XV. King of France, we, Coloran, Commandant of a Detachment sent by the Duke Calissoniere, Commandant-General of New France, to re-establish tranquility in some savage villages of these cantons, have entered this

⁴ Virginia Historical Register, 1848.

Plate at the entry of the river Chinodahichetha,⁵ (or Beautiful River of the Woods,) the 18th day of August near the river Ohio, otherwise Belle Riviere, for a monument of the renewal of possession which we have taken of the said river Ohio and of all those which flow into it and of all the lands on both sides of the sources of the said rivers, as the preceding kings of France have, or ought to have enjoyed them, and as they are maintained by arms and by treaties, and especially by the treaties of Riswick, of Utrecht' and of Aix-la-Chapelle." This plate is now in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond; presented through Major Laidley.

⁵ Kanawha river.

CHAPTER XIX.

STONE INSCRIPTIONS.

Curious specimens of inscriptions are to be seen, marking the styles of different periods. The earliest we find is recorded by Charles Campbell, who discovered it on a paper in the State Library at Richmond,—while turning over the leaves of Smith's History of Virginia,—and published it in the Southern Literary Messenger, October, 1843, Howe supposed this to be the oldest monumental inscription in the United States. From the earliness of the date it is concluded that Lieutenant Hennis was one of Smith's companions in a voyage of exploration.¹

This *notice* was "correctly copied by Thos. Hurd" (the first to draw attention to the tomb) "in October 23rd, 1837:" it reads, "Here lies ye body of Lieut. William Hennis, who died May ye 16th, 1608, aged 65 years; by birth a Brittain, a good soldier, a good husband and neighbor." Hurd explains that this inscription was handsomely carved on a tombstone, of the usual size, standing on the banks of the Neabsco Creek in Fairfax county, Virginia, and "its duration to this time is 229 years."

An inscription on an old tombstone in a burying-ground in Surry county at Four Mile Tree tells that "Here lyeth buried the body of Alice Miles, Daughter of John Miles of Branton

¹ In 1624 a law was first enacted for impaling a place for burial of the dead.



A MOURNING LOCKET,
OR, BROOCH OF THE 18TH CENTURY.

in Hereford—Gent; and late wife of Mr. George Jordan in Virginia, who departed this life the 7th of January, 1650.

“Reader, her dust is here enclosed, who was of witt and grace composed.

Her life was virtuous during breath—but highly glorious in her death.”

“On Temple Farm, one and a half miles from Yorktown, there are old remains indicating it was the site of an ancient settlement: near here are broken monuments, and one bearing heraldic insignia is inscribed to ‘Maj. Wm. Gooch’ of this Parish’ who ‘dyed Octob. 29, 1655;’ with the memorial lines,

“Within this tomb, there doth interred lie,
No shape but substance, true nobility,
Its self though young, in years but twenty-nine
Yet graced with virtues, morall and divine;
The church from him did good participate
In counsell rare fit to adorn a state.”³

On the Pembroke farm, near Hampton is an ancient monument of black marble, six feet long and three wide, surmounted with a coat of arms, and the inscription,

“This stone was given by His Excellency Francis Nicholson, Esq., Lieutenant and Governor-General of Virginia in memory of Peter Heyman, Esq., grandson to Sir Peter Heyman of Summerfield in ye county of Kent—he was collector of ye customs in ye lower district of James river, and went voluntarily on board ye king’s ship Shoreham, in pursuit of a pyrate who greatly infested this coast: after he had behaved himself seven hours, with undaunted courage, was killed with a small shot, ye 29 day of April

² Probably ancestor of Gov. William Gooch, (1727.)

³ “Howe, p. 523.

1700. In the engagement he stood next the Governor upon the quarter-deck, and was here honorably interred by his order."⁴

An old tablet in Bruton Church, Williamsburg, tells that "Near this marble lyes ye Hon'ble Daniel Parke of ye county of Essex, Esq., who was one of his Maj'ties Counsellors and some time secretary of the colony of Virg'a. He dyed ye 6th of March Anno 1679. His other felicityes were crowned by his happy marriage with Rebekka the daughter of George Evelyn of the county of Surry, Esq. She dyed the 2d of January, 1672, at Long Ditton and left behind her a most hopeful progeny."

In Bruton church there is also an old tablet inscribed to the "Memory of Dr. William Cocke, an English physician, born of reputable parents at Sudsbury in Suffolk, 1672, and educated at Queen's College, Cambridge.

"He was learned and polite, of undisputed skill in his profession, of unbounded generosity in his practice, which multitudes yet alive can testify. He was many years of the Council and Secretary of State for this Colony, in the reign of Queen Anne and King George. He died suddenly while sitting a judge upon the bench of the General Court in the Capitol. MDCCXX. His honorable friend, Alexander Spotswood, Esq., then governor, with the principal gentlemen of the country attended his funeral and, weeping, saw the corpse interred at the west side of the altar in this church."

There is to be found⁵ in Northampton county a very singular inscription upon the tomb of the Hon. John Custis, a gentleman of great opulence, who died about 1750, leaving directions in his will for the erection of his monument

⁴ Howe p. 249.

⁵ Howe's Antiquities, p. 405.

“Under this marble tomb lies the body
Of the Hon. John Custis, Esq.,
Of the City of Williamsburg
and parish of Bruton
Formerly of Hunger’s parish on the
Eastern Shore
Of Virginia and county of Northampton
Aged 71 years and yet lived but seven years,
which was the space of time he kept
A Bachelor’s home at Arlington,
On the Eastern Shore of Virginia.”

(Opposite side of slab)

“Put on his tomb by his own positive orders. Wm. Cosley Man, in Fenchurch-street fecit, London.

The Virginia Gazette published an epitaph on Miss M. Thacker, daughter of Col. Edwin Thacker of Middlesex county, who died September, 1739.

“Pensively pay the tribute of a tear
For one that claims our common grief lies here.
Good natured, prudent, affable and mild,
In sense a woman, in deceit a child.
Angels, like us, her virtues shall admire,
And chant her welcome through the Heavenly choir!”*

The tomb of Col. Isham Randolph, Member of the House of Burgesses, November, 1738, and May, 1740, who died on Turkey Island in 1742, bears the following inscription:

“Sacred to the Memory of Col. Isham Randolph of Dungeness in Goochland County, Adjutant-General of this Colony. He was third son of William Randolph and Mary, his wife. The distinguishing qualities of the Gentleman he possessed in an eminent degree. To justice, probity

* Howe p. 332.

and honour so firmly attached that no view of secular interest or Worldly advantage, no discouraging frowns of fortune could alter his steady purpose of heart. By an easy Compliance and obliging deportment, he knew no enemy, but gained Many friends, thus in his meriting an universal esteem He died as universally lamented November 1742 age 57. Gentle Reader go and do likewise."⁷

Near the ruins of the church at Yorktown is the tomb of the Hon. William Nelson,—the father of Gov. Thomas Nelson,—a tomb beautifully ornamented with carved work, bearing this inscription "here lies the body of the Hon. Wm. Nelson, late president of his Majesty's Council in this Dominion, in whom the love of man and the love of God so restrained and enforced each other and so invigorated the mental powers in general as not only to defend him from the vices and follies of his age and country, but also to render it a matter of difficult decision in what part of laudable conduct he most excelled; whether as a neighbor, gentleman or a magistrate; whether in the graces of hospitality, charity or piety. Reader if you feel the spirit of that exalted ardor which aspires to the felicity of conscious virtue, animated by these stimulating and divine admonitions, perform the task and expect the distinction of the righteous man. Obit. 19th of Nov., Anno Domini, 1772 *ætatis* 61."⁸

⁷ Virginia Council Journals, (from Virginia Historical Society Quarterly).

⁸ Howe, p. 521.

CHAPTER XX.

AWAKENING OF NATIONAL GENIUS.

The time was drawing near when the accumulated forces of upheaval would burst before England's astonished gaze; in the meantime the colonists were unconsciously preparing themselves for self dependence, with the change of government.

Among other industries, with which they were experimenting, was the making of wine of superior quality, upon which premiums were offered. The list of subscribers to the premiums given in the year 1762 in the order of their subscription may be found in full in Henning's Statutes:

"William Cabell, Jr.,	£ 1	John Fleming	£ 1
Augustine Claiborne	2	William Fleming	1
Thomas Clayton	2	Thomas Whiting	2
Alexander Rose	2	George Washington	2
Peter Whiting	2	and others.	

"November, 1762, 3rd year of George III. Rex."

In 1765 the colonists imposed upon themselves a number of self-denials by way of testifying their determination to resist unjust taxation.¹ "We will eat no lamb. We will wear no mourning at funerals. We will import no British goods." The inhabitants set up looms for weaving their clothes, deciding that they would go upon manufactures. "We will have home-spun markets of linens and woolens." These resolutions passed from mouth to mouth, till they found their way across the Atlantic and alarmed the King in council.

¹ Bancroft.

"Ladies of the first fortune shall set the example of wearing home-spun. It will be accounted a virtue in them to wear a garment of their own spinning. A little attention to these manufacturers will make us ample amends for the distresses of the present day and render us a great and happy people."

While war was in the land and Virginia bearing her part, some of her sons were intent upon promoting the progress of science within her borders.

A society was formed, to collect and publish matter which would aid the inquirer into science; to study chemistry and to apply it to the agriculture of Virginia;—a society continuing active during the war, throughout which time a committee was at work and chose several articles of uncommon excellence, intended for the press.

Subsequent events caused the decline of the society of which John Page was president and Thomas Jefferson, the leading member. Through their efforts laws were passed in the legislature to aid manufactures, and general education; for the building of iron and salt-works and for encouraging those who engaged in them. Rev. James Madison, afterwards bishop, was Secretary of the Society.

In a letter from John Page to Arthur Lee,² March 12, 1778, Williamsburg, there is mention of this society for the encouragement of arts, sciences, etc. "I take this opportunity of informing you that you were elected a corresponding Member of our society for promoting useful Knowledge, at one of our last Meetings—which have been for sometime discontinued, the critical Situation of our Country engrossing

² Minister of the U. S. to the court of Versailles, 1776, Arthur Lee assisted in negotiating the treaty with France. Recalled 1779.—Howe, 519.

the Attention of all the Members. However we have made some Progress in our Business, having received some valuable Astronomical Observations, Meteorological Journals and other Papers, Models of Machines, etc., etc.: and are collecting Materials for completing the natural History of Virginia.

"Not only the Arts and Sciences, but Manufactures and Agriculture are objects of our attention.

"By the next Opportunity I will send you some Extracts from some of our Papers.

"The Society will think themselves happy to receive anything you may think proper to communicate. I am, dear Sir, Your affectionate h'ble Servant,

JOHN PAGE, *of Rosewell.*"³



MEDAL PRESENTED TO THE INVENTOR OF A THRESHING MACHINE.

This Philosophical Society presented a medal in 1779, for the model of a threshing-machine to John Hobday,

³ Writing of Rosewell, the home of John Page, Governor of Virginia in 1802, Campbell describes it as nearly opposite the mouth of Queen's Creek; and joining the site of Powhatan's residence at Werowocomoco, also owned by Page, who because of the difficulty of pronouncing the Indian name, called it Shelly, from the accumulation of shells found there. Article in *Southern Literary Messenger*, 1845.

designer,—which is now on exhibition at the rooms of the Virginia Historical Society, and, by permission, is reproduced here.

This represents Agriculture presenting the medal to Hobday, with the motto "*Honos Alitantes*" on one face, and upon the reverse the machine is represented.

Doubtless there may be discovered other work of this society,⁴ (which received its first impulse from professors of William and Mary College)—intermingled with the mass of unknown, because unpublished, Revolutionary history; and the connection of distinguished actors helps to confirm such a supposition.

But a fearful engrossment possessed the people, filling thought and mind, obscuring all other things: the swaddling Protest, evoked a century before and apparently strangled by the strengthened grip of regal authority, now, fully developed, came forth, Minerva-like, from the giant head of united Resistance, called into being by the magic of that Liberty which later was enthroned as the American goddess.

⁴John Clayton, botanist and author of "*Flora Virginica*," was in 1773 president of the "Virginia Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge."—*Va. His. Mag.*, edited by Jefferson Wallace, October, 1891.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.

The native county of Washington was Westmoreland; a county, called the "Athens of America," because of the number of renowned men born within her borders, which, by an act of the Assembly, of July, 1653, was ordered to mark its bounds as follows: "from the Machoactoke river, where Mr. Cole lives, and upwards to the falls of the great river Potowmake, about the Nescostin's towne."

It is thought that this act indicates that the county was previously in existence, but it has not been ascertained at what time it was taken from the older county of Northumberland, at first called Chickawane or Chickoun, which was established in 1648 and declared by an act of that year to contain the neck of land between Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers.¹

The birth place² of Washington was destroyed previous to the Revolution, but the spot on which it stood has interest from association and natural beauty, commanding a view of the Maryland shore, of the majestic Potomac and its course towards Chesapeake Bay. The house was a low-pitched, single-storied frame building with four rooms on the first floor and an enormous chimney, at each end, on the outside.

¹ Howe.

² A stone marking the site of Washington's birthplace has inscribed upon it "Here on the 11th of Feb. (O. S.), 1732, George Washington was born;" placed there by G. W. Custis, Esq.

The first notable acts of Washington were in connection with his surveying, which introduced him to Fairfax and led to his knowledge of the country; and this, in turn, to his appointment as a leader in the French and Indian war. The disregard of his advice as guide, is generally accepted as a cause of defeat in what was called the Braddock war.³



GREENWAY COURT, Home of Lord Fairfax.

His biographies tell of his appointment as surveyor and through the work, his intimacy with Lord Fairfax and entertainment at Greenway Court. The entry⁴ of his commission is still on record in a volume at the clerk's office of Culpeper county: "20th July, 1749 (O. S.), George Washington, Gent., produced a commission from the President and Master of William and Mary College appointing him to be surveyor of this county, which was read and thereupon he took the usual oaths to his majesty's person

³ On his mission, in 1754, of remonstrance against French encroachments' Washington kept a journal which was published in colonial and English newspapers.

⁴ County court records.

and government and took and subscribed the abjuration oath and test and then took the oath of surveyor according to law."

From the time of his engagement in the war under Braddock, he began to attract attention to himself, and, even in this defeat, his conduct marked his ability: and remarkable prophecies are to be found in the tributes paid him then by whites and Indians.

We learn that after Braddock's defeat the consternation was so general, many seemed ready to desert the country: such a prospect called for prompt measures looking to prevention. On the 20th of July, 1755, the Rev. Samuel Davies delivered a discourse upon patriotism, declaring that Christians should be patriots. "To give the greater weight to what I may say, I may take the liberty to tell you that I have as little to lose as any of you. If I consulted my safety or my temporal interest, I should soon remove with my family to Great Britain, or the Northern Colonies where I have had very inviting offers. Nature has not formed me for a military life, nor furnished me with any great degree of fortitude and courage, yet I must declare that after the most calm and impartial deliberation, I am determined not to leave my country while there is any prospect of defending it."

In a note appended to a later discourse,—delivered before Captain Overton's Company of Independent Volunteers, the first raised in Virginia after Braddock's defeat,—Davies says "as a remarkable instance I may point out to the public that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved, in so signal a manner, for some important service to his country."⁵

⁵ Campbell, p. 483. "Dejection and alarm vanished under the eloquence of Davies."



FIRST PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON, BY PEALE.

When Washington went to the Ohio in 1770, to explore the wild lands near the mouth of the Kanawha, he met an aged chief, who told him, through an interpreter, that at the battle of Braddock's Field he singled him out as a conspicuous object, fired his rifle at him many times and directed his young men to do the same, but none of their balls took effect. The chief was then persuaded that the young hero was under the especial guardianship of the Great Spirit and ceased firing at him. He now came a great way to pay homage to the man who was the particular favorite of heaven, and who could never die in battle.

During the lull between wars Washington gave attention to his private affairs, and the vast body of land, he had acquired in the western country, we find advertised for sale, a few years later, in a copy of the "Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser Vol. I., Number 1, August 20th, 1773," of which a memorial reprint was made in Baltimore, 1873. The extract—from the original issue—is as follows.

MOUNT VERNON IN VIRGINIA, JULY 15, 1773.

The Subscriber having obtained Patents for upwards of TWENTY THOUSAND Acres of LAND on the Ohio and *Great Kanhawa* (Ten Thousand of which are situated on the banks of the first-mentioned river, between the mouths of the two Kanhawas, and the remainder on the *Great Kanhawha* or *New River* from the mouth, or near it, upwards in one continued survey) proposes to divide the same into any sized tenements that may be desired and lease them upon moderate terms, allowing a reasonable number of years rent free, provided, within the space of two years from next October, three acres for every fifty contained in each lot and proportionably for a lesser quantity, shall be cleared, fenced, and tilled; and that by or before the

time limited for the commencement of the first rent, five acres for every hundred and proportionably, as above shall be enclosed and laid down in good grass for meadow; and moreover, that at least fifty good fruit trees for like quantity of land shall be planted on the Premises. Any person inclinable to settle on these lands may be more fully informed of the terms by applying to the subscriber, near Alexandria, or in his absence to Mr. LUND WASHINGTON; and would do well in communicating their intentions before the 1st of October next, in order that a sufficient number of lots may be laid off to answer the demand.

“As these lands are among the first which have been surveyed in the part of the country they lie in, it is almost needless to premise that none can exceed them in luxuriance of soil, or convenience of situation, all of them lying upon the banks either of the *Ohio* or *Kanhawa*, and abounding with fine fish and wild fowl of various kinds as also in most excellent meadows, many of which (by the bountiful hand of nature) are in their present state almost fit for the scythe. From every part of these lands, water carriage is now had to *Fort Pitt* by an easy communication; and from Fort Pitt, up the Monongahela to Redstone, vessels of convenient burthen may and do pass continually, from whence by means of Cheat River and other navigable branches of the Monongahela, it is thought the portage to Potowmack may and will be reduced within the compass of a few miles to the great ease and convenience of the settlers, in transporting the produce of their lands to market.

“To which may be added that as patents have now actually passed the seals for the several tracts here offered to be

leased, settlers on them may cultivate and enjoy the lands in peace and safety, notwithstanding the unsettled counsels respecting a new colony on the Ohio: and as no right money is to be paid for these lands and quitrent of two shillings sterling a hundred demandable some years hence only, it is highly presumable that they will always be held upon a more desirable footing than where both these are laid on with a heavy hand.

"And it may not be amiss further to observe, that if the scheme for establishing a new government on the Ohio, in the manner talked of should ever be effected these must be among the most valuable lands on it, not only on account of the goodness of soil and the other advantages above enumerated but from their contiguity to the seat of government which more than probable will be fixed at the mouth of the Great Kanhawa.

GEORGE WASHINGTON"

From the time its owner was placed at the head of the American army, this name—standing for self-sacrificing patriotism, good generalship and wise council—must be written in Capitals. As the din and distress of outrageous warfare spread apace over their devoted land, the enthusiasm of the people was eager to show honor to one towards whom all looked, with unbounded confidence, for deliverance.

A county in Virginia,—organized the first month of the new year, after the establishment of the Commonwealth,—had the honor bestowed on it of being the first in the United States to commemorate the name of the country's hero: the first court for which was ordered to be held at "Black's Fort" January 28, 1777. Till 1786, Washington county embraced within its limits all southwestern Virginia, beyond the Montgomery line and included parts

of Grayson, Wythe, Tazewell, all of Smyth, Scott, Russell, Lee and its present limits. Of the distinguished citizens, Gen. William Campbell, of King's mountain fame, was a native of this county.

Among the records of the county are many telling of engagements with the Cherokee tribe, who were completely defeated in their own mode of warfare, and thereby massacre upon the frontier settlements prevented. Col. Arthur Campbell commanded an expedition against them, of 700 *mounted riflemen*, the first experiment of thus attacking Indians, which on this occasion proved successful. After this expedition a message was sent to the chiefs and warriors, telling them if they were disposed to make peace, they must send six of their head men to the agent, Major Martin, at the Great Island, within two moons, so as to give him time to meet them with a flag guard on Holston River, at the boundary line. "To the wives and children of those men of your nation who protested against the war, if they are willing to take refuge at the Great Island until peace is restored, we will give a supply of provisions to keep them alive.

"Warriors, listen attentively: if we receive no answer until the time mentioned expires, we shall conclude that you intend to continue our enemies. We will then be compelled to send another strong force into your country, prepared to remain in it as a conquered country, without making any compensation."

"Signed at Kai-a-tee, January 4th, 1781."

The Indians were now desirous of negotiating with the proper authorities, and under a commission issued, entered into a treaty restoring peace and establishing the limits, between Virginia, North Carolina and the Indian tribes,-- which was concluded in the year 1782.

During a critical time of the Revolution, which tried the souls of the patriots, Washington, in a letter to Mr. Mason expressed something of his anxiety, comparing the condition of the country to a clock out of order. "A fatal policy prevails in most of the States, of employing their ablest men at home in posts of honor or profit, lamentable till the great national interests are fixed upon a solid basis. To me it appears no unjust simile to compare the affairs of this great continent to the mechanism of a clock, each State representing some one or other of the smaller parts of it which they are endeavoring to put in fine order, without considering how useless and unavailing their labor unless the great wheel or spring which is to set the whole in motion, is also well attended to and kept in good order.

"I allude to no particular State nor do I mean to cast reflections upon any one of them; nor ought I to do so upon their representatives, but it is a fact that much business of a trifling nature and personal concernment withdraws attention from matters of great national moment at this critical period requiring close attention and application. Every man desiring the liberty of the country and wishing its rights established now looks to men of ability to come forth and save the country * * * *

"That administration, (England) a little while ago had resolved to give the matter up and negotiate a peace with us upon almost any terms but I shall be much mistaken if they do not now from the present state of the currency, dissensions and other circumstances, push matters to the extremest extremity.

"Nothing, I am convinced, but the depreciation of our currency, has fed the hopes of the enemy and kept the British

Arms in America to this day. They do not scruple to declare this themselves and add that we shall be our own conquerors.⁶

GEORGE WASHINGTON."

The effect of the news of the capture of Cornwallis' Army was to cause universal thanksgiving and rejoicing. "British animosity to the Americans led them often to wanton destruction of what they could neither use nor carry off. By their means, thousands had been involved in distress.

"The troops under Cornwallis had spread waste and ruin over the face of all the country for 400 miles on the seacoast, and for 200 miles to the westward. The reduction of such an army occasioned transports of joy in the breasts of the whole body of people.

"Well authenticated testimony asserts that the nerves of some were so agitated as to produce convulsions and that at least one man expired under the tide of pleasure which flowed in upon him, when informed of his lordship's surrender."

"Gen'l Washington, on the day after the surrender, ordered 'that those who were under arrest should be set at liberty.' His orders closed with that for divine service which 'shall be performed tomorrow.'"

Congress, on receiving the official account of the great events which had taken place at Yorktown, resolved to go in procession to church and return public thanks to Almighty God for the advantage which had been gained.

After the cessation of hostilities and quiet was settled, all participants received from Washington their mead of praise. The Rev. Lewis Craig led the *travelling church*,

⁶ Virginia Historical Register.

two hundred members of the Baptist persuasion, through the Wilderness in 1781. Washington said these people were the firm friends of civil liberty and the persevering promoters of our glorious Revolution.⁷

Peace being at last established and the army preparing to return to their homes, "The time had arrived, when Washington was to bid a final adieu to his companions in arms, to many of whom he was bound by the strongest ties of friendship and for all of whom he felt a lively gratitude and sincere regard."

This affectionate interview took place on the 4th of December.

At noon, the principal officers of the army assembled at Frances' Tavern, soon after which the beloved commander entered the room.

His emotions were too strong to be concealed. Filling a glass with water he turned to them and said, "with a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable."

Having drank he added "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave but should be obliged, if each of you will come and take me by the hand."

General Knox, being nearest, turned to him; Washington, incapable of utterance, grasped his hand, and embraced him. In the same affectionate manner he took leave of each succeeding officer. The tear of sensibility was in every eye and not a word was articulated to interrupt the dignified silence and tenderness of the scene.⁸

A society, called the "Cincinnati," was formed by Washington and his officers, American and foreign, a branch of

⁷ Ramsay's History United States.

⁸ Spark's Life of Washington.



**BOWL PRESENTED LADY WASHINGTON BY THE SOCIETY OF
CINCINNATI.**
decorated with the circle of states.

which was continued in France, when those officers returned to their own country. This society presented Mrs. Washington with a set of china, a bowl from which, now owned by the Virginia Historical Society, is reproduced here.

"To a woman, Miss Cunningham, of South Carolina, first came the desire of restoring Washington's home at Mount Vernon, which has grown to be the Mecca of good American patriots. This lady formed her plans and sent out urgent



MOUNT VERNON

appeals for assistance in 1853. Her first call was to the women in southern states and on July 12, 1854, the first meeting was held: and the following ladies were the pioneer workers, for the purchase and preservation of this historic place, under the leadership of Miss Cunningham.

Mrs. Julia Cabell,
 " Eliza Semmes,
 " Susan Pellet,
 " William Ritchie,
 " ———Pegram,

Mrs. Wirt Robinson,
 " Walter D. Blair,
 " Ben Minor,
 " Jos. R. Anderson,
 " Thomas Ellis,
 and others.

"On March 17, 1856, the Ladies' Mount Vernon Association was formed; and for the better furtherance of her work, at one time Miss Cunningham went to live at Mount Vernon (neutral ground in 1861-65.) The sum to be raised for its purchase was \$200,000, and the land included 200 acres, the property of Mr. John Augustine Washington, then residing at Mount Vernon. Virginians contributed \$7,079.44 and to raise this amount the state was divided into districts and lady managers were appointed to collect money, generally in contributions of \$1.00. The names of the contributors are registered in the bound volumes of the Mount Vernon Record at the rooms of the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond."

The inauguration⁹ of Washington, 1789, is described by an eye-witness thus: "I was present in the pew with Washington, and must assure you, that after making all deductions for the delusion of one's fancy in regard to characters, I still think of him with more veneration than for any other person.

"Time has made havoc upon his face. That, and many other circumstances not to be reasoned about, conspire to keep up the awe which I brought with me.

"He addressed the two Houses in the Senate Chamber; it was a very solemn scene, and quite of the touching kind.

"His aspect, grave, almost to sadness; his modesty, actually *shaking*. His voice deep, a little tremulous, and so low as to call for close attention, added to the series of objects presented to the mind and overwhelming it, produced emotions of the most affecting kind upon the members.

"It seemed to me an allegory in which virtue was personified and addressing those whom she would make her votaries. Her power over the heart was never greater, and

⁹ Fisher Ames' letter May 3d, 1789, (reprinted 1854).

the illustration of her doctrine by her own example was never more perfect,"

In 1801 when delivering his inaugural address and when "asking so much confidence as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of affairs," Thomas Jefferson makes this demand "without pretensions to that high confidence reposed in our first and greatest revolutionary character, whose pre-eminent services entitled him to the first place in the country's love, and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history."

CHAPTER XXII.

RESQUIESCAT IN PACE.

"The thanks of Congress in solemn resolutions was the very crown of fame."

When the announcement of Washington's death was made to Congress, that body, then in session in Philadelphia, immediately adjourned.

On assembling next day the house of representatives resolved that a joint committee should be appointed to devise the most suitable manner of paying honour to the memory of the man, who had filled the measure of his country's glory;¹ and addresses were made voicing the nation's tribute.

According to the unanimous resolution of Congress a funeral procession moved from the Legislative Hall to the German Lutheran church, where an oration was delivered by General Lee, a representative from Virginia. The procession was grand and solemn; the oration impressive and eloquent. When the members of the House of Representatives met on Thursday, December 19th, Mr. Marshall with deep sorrow, on his countenance, and in a low, pathetic tone of voice, rose and addressed the House as follows:

"The melancholy event which was yesterday announced, without doubt has been rendered but too certain. Our Washington is no more! The hero, the sage, and the patriot of America—the man on whom in times of danger, every

¹ Applied to Andrew Jackson.

eye was turned and all hopes were placed, lives now only in his own great actions and in the hearts of an affectionate and afflicted people.

"If it had not been usual, openly to testify respect for the memory of those whom heaven had selected as its instruments for dispensing good to man, yet such has been the uncommon worth, and such the extraordinary incidents which have marked the life of him whose loss we all deplore that the whole American nation, impelled by the same feelings would call with one voice for a public manifestation of that sorrow which is so deep and so universal.

"More than any other individual and as much as to one individual was possible, has he contributed to found this, our wide spreading empire, and to give to the Western world its independence and its freedom. Having effected the great object for which he was placed at the head of our armies, we have seen him convert the sword into the ploughshare and voluntarily sink the soldier in the citizen.

"When the debility of our federal system had become manifest and the bonds which connected the parts of this vast continent were dissolving, we have seen him the chief of those Patriots, who formed for us a Constitution, which, by preserving the union, will perpetuate those blessings our revolution had promised to bestow.

"In obedience to the general voice of his country, calling on him to preside over a great people, we have seen him once more quit the retirement he loved, and in a season, more stormy and tempestuous than war itself with calm, and wise determination pursue the true interests of the nation and contribute to the establishment of that system of policy which will, I trust, yet preserve our peace, our honor and our independence. Having been twice unani-

mously chosen the Chief Magistrate of a free people, we see him at a time when his re-election with the universal suffrage could not have been doubted, affording the world a rare instance of moderation, by withdrawing from his high station to the peaceful walks of private life.

"However public confidence may change and the public affections fluctuate with respect to others, yet with respect to him, they have in war, and in peace, in public and in private life, been as steady as his own firm mind, and as constant as his own exalted virtues.

"Let us then, pay the last tribute of respect and affection to our departed friend. Let the grand council of the nation display those sentiments which the nation feels.

"For this purpose I offer² the following resolutions to the House. "Resolved, That this House will wait on the President of the United States, in condolence of this mournful event.

"Resolved, That the Speaker's chair be shrouded with black, and that the Members and Officers of the House wear black during the session.

"Resolved, That a committee, in conjunction with one from the Senate, be appointed to consider on the most suitable manner of paying honor to the memory of the man, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his country.

"Resolved, That this House when it adjourns, do adjourn to Monday."

These resolutions were unanimously agreed to. Sixteen members were appointed on the third resolution.

A message was received from the Senate informing the House that they had agreed to the appointment of a joint

² The address says "I hold in my hand."

committee and had appointed seven members to join a committee from the House. Both House and Senate waited upon the President, John Adams, to express their condolence on the distressing event.

The address of the Senate was as follows: "The Senate of the United States respectfully take leave, Sir, to express to you their deep regret for the loss the country has sustained in the death of General George Washington. Permit us to mingle our tears with yours. To lose such a man at such a crisis, is no common calamity to the world. With patriotic pride we review the life of our Washington and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied, but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition and darkened the splendour of victory. The scene is closed and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory; he has travelled on to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increasing weight of honour; he has deposited it safely where misfortune cannot tarnish it—where malice cannot blast it. Washington yet lives on earth in his spotless example—his spirit is in Heaven.

"Let his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic General, the patriotic Statesman, and the virtuous Sage; let them teach their children never to forget that the fruits of his labours and his example are their inheritance."

In like indulgence of patriotic pride the President responded. "His example is now complete and it will teach wisdom and virtue to Magistrates, Citizens and men, not only in the present age, but in future generations, as long as our History shall be read. * * * * *

WASHINGTON ENTOMBED.

“GEORGETOWN, *December 20, 1799.*

“On Wednesday last, the mortal part of Washington the Great—the Father of his Country and the Friend of man was consigned to the tomb with solemn honours and funeral pomp.

“A multitude of persons assembled from many miles around at Mount Vernon, the choice abode and last residence of the illustrious chief. There were the groves—the spacious avenues, the beautiful and sublime scenes, the noble mansion, but alas! the august inhabitant *was now no more*. That soul was *gone*. His mortal part was there indeed; but ah! how affecting! how awful the spectacle of such worth and greatness, thus to mortal eyes, fallen!

“In the long and lofty Portico, where oft the Hero walked in all his glory, now lay the shrouded corpse. The countenance still composed and serene, seemed to express the dignity of the spirit, which, lately dwelt in that lifeless form—There those who paid the last sad honours to the benefactor of his country, took an impressive—a farewell view.

“On the ornament at the head of the coffin, was inscribed *Surge ad Judicium*—about the middle of the coffin, *Gloria Deo*—and on the silver plate,

General

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

Departed this life on the 14th December

1799, Aet. 68.

“Between three and four o'clock the sound of artillery from a vessel in the river, firing minute guns, awoke afresh

our solemn sorrow—the corpse was moved—a band of music with mournful melody melted the soul into all the tenderness of woe.

“The procession was formed and moved on in the following order:

Calvary	} With arms reversed:
Infantry	
Guard	
Music	
Clergy	

The General's horse with his saddle, hostlers and pistols.

<i>Colonels.</i> Simms Ramsay Payne	Pall-bearers	Corpse	Pall-bearers	<i>Colonels.</i> Gilpin Marsteller Little
Mourners				
Masonic Brethren				
Citizens				

“When the Procession had arrived at the bottom of the elevated lawn, on the banks of the Potomac, where the family vault is placed, the cavalry halted, the infantry marched towards the Mount, and formed their lines—the Clergy, the Masonic Brothers and the Citizens descended to the Vault, and the funeral service of the Church was performed,—The firing was repeated from the vessel in the river and the sounds echoed from the woods and hills around.

“Three general discharges by the infantry—the cavalry and eleven pieces of artillery, which lined the banks of the

Potomac back of the vault, paid the last tribute to the entombed Commander-in-Chief of the United States Armies and to the departed Hero.

"The sun was now setting. Alas! The sun of Glory was set forever. No—the name of WASHINGTON—the American President and General—will triumph over Death! The unclouded brightness of his Glory will illuminate the future ages!"³

³Samuel Freer & Son, "Ulster County Gazette, Kingston, Pennsylvania Vol. II, No. 88, Jan. 4. 1800.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE QUESTION OF LABOR.

"The South alone could enter into the greatness of the question of slavery and alone knew the burden, danger and responsibility, the great difficulties: it alone had the labor and sorrows."

Those who came at first as servants to the London Company were brought over at the expense of the company and supported by its means; bound by contract to obey all its orders; also were subject to martial law. Five years was the agreed period of their service, and upon the expiration of this time they were set free: when freed they were entitled to the planter's dividend of 100 acres of land.

To encourage individual industry, a partial distribution of lands was inaugurated by Dale in 1615. Those who had been brought over at the expense of the Company had three acres of land and two bushels of corn from the public store; with this allowance they were required to support themselves by one month's labor, the balance of the year being required by the Company.

This species of laborers decreased by 1617 to fifty-four persons and these were entirely released from vassalage by Yeardley. Their emancipation was one of his first acts: by it each man enjoyed the fruits of his own industry and began to take in interest in the country and the results of his labor.

Until 1619 the colonists had depended upon the labor of white servants, but towards the last of August of this year, "a Dutch man-of-warre came that sold us twenty

negars." This introduced a race differing from any in the colony, the tenure of whose servitude lasted during their lives, whose value as property to their owners increased as they became trained to service.

In an old historical dictionary is to be found an account of the origin of the slave trade; which was "begun in 1442 when Anthony Gonzalez, a Portuguese, took from the coast of Africa, (the Gold Coast) ten negroes, carrying them to Lisbon. In 1481 the Portuguese built a fort on the Gold Coast and in 1502 the Spaniards began to employ a few negroes in the mines of Hispaniola. In 1517 Charles V. of Spain, granted a patent to certain persons for the supply of 4,000 negroes annually to the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica and Porta Rico."

The first of the English known to have been concerned in this commerce was John Hawkins, who was afterwards knighted by Queen Elizabeth. He got into his possession, partly by the sword and partly by other means, 300 negroes and sold them in the West Indies.

Hawkin's second voyage was patronized by Queen Elizabeth who participated in the profits, and in 1618, during the reign of James I. the British Government established a regular trade on the coast of Africa.

The negroes imported into Virginia, enslaved before their purchase by the colonists, were delivered from the hold of a slave ship and the cruelty of their Dutch masters. 

Their purchasers seem to have intended to free them at a convenient season, and many efforts were made, by those having them in control, to effect so desirable an end. The harsher slave laws were early repealed. Beverley says the treatment¹ of the slaves in the province was noted for its

¹ Thirty thousand slaves were taken from Virginia by the British, in their invasions during 1781, of whom 27,000 died of camp-fever or small-pox.—Howe, 167.

mildness "Whatever it was in former days, cruelties to servants is an unjust Reflection, for no people more abhor the thoughts of such usage than the Virginians now. Service, which has been represented in England as cruel, work of slaves and servants, is no other than what every common freeman does.—An Overseer among them is one who has served well his time.—Negroes are slaves for life: whites, servants for a specified time; when not indentured, till twenty-four years of age; but if upwards of nineteen years, to serve five years."

In 1620 the Company had received orders from the King to transport one hundred persons² in custody for various misdemeanors,—some from debtors' prisons,—at a time when all persons guilty of larceny above the value of twelve pence were by the common law of England subject to the death penalty. These men were dispersed through the colonies as servants to the planters, to execute the plans of industry daily extending themselves.

In 1642 runaway servants were liable to be branded on the cheek for a second offense. In March of this year punishment by condemnation to temporary service was abolished.

The sentence for branding was mitigated in 1657 to a brand upon the shoulder; later corporeal punishment was added and the term of service prolonged.

Berkeley gave the official return of the listing of the population in 1671 as 40,000 altogether: of these 6,000 were indentured servants and but 2,000 negro slaves.

Between 1680 and 1786 it is estimated that 2,120,000 slaves were imported into the British Colonies of America

² Convicts were sent from Great Britain constantly up to the time of the Revolution and sold to servitude in the colony.—Howison, Vol. II., p. 229.

and the West Indies. About the time of the Revolution, a celebrated French writer stated that the total exportations from Africa, since the beginning of the trade, was 9,000,000 of slaves.

“In the reign of Charles II. before the voluntary emigration of the Quakers, a considerable number of these sectaries were transported as felons.”

After the death of this king, in 1685, Beverley writes that “the Virginians proclaimed the accession of James II. with acclamations of hope, which they soon discovered were fallacious; the consciousness of which was forced upon them by the king’s disregard of their entreaties for the suspension of a tax on the consumption of tobacco in England, threatening the depreciation of their only commodity. This caused them to treat with kindness the insurgents whom James, after the defeat of Monmouth’s invasion, appointed to be transported to the plantations, requesting the colonists to prevent the unfortunates from redeeming themselves from the servitude to which they had been consigned.”

These rebels were sold by King James for £10 and £15 apiece on September 19, 1685, to be slaves in the colony. They were dishonored by no crime save that of trying to overthrow a dominion already hated; and Virginia received them willingly, and on her generous soil they soon acquired independence.³

The Assembly passed a law in 1705 making slaves real estate!⁴ In 1712 Queen Anne boasted of securing a new market for slaves in Spanish America: and George II. ascending the throne in 1727, favored the custom.

Bristol, in the reign of Charles II., ranked, though at a great distance, next in size to London. The hospitality

³ Howison, Vol. II., p. 395.

⁴ Before listed as personal property.

of Bristol was widely renowned and especially the collations with which the sugar-refiners regaled their visitors. The repast was accompanied by a rich brewage made of the best Spanish wine and celebrated over the whole kingdom as *Bristol milk*. This luxury was supported by a thriving trade with North American plantations.

The passion for colonial traffic was so strong that there was scarce a small shop-keeper in Bristol who had not a venture on board of some ship bound for Virginia. Some of these ventures, were not of the most honourable kind. There was in the Trans-Atlantic possessions of the crown, a great demand for labor, and this demand was partly supplied by a system of *crimping* and *kidnapping* at the principal English seaports. Nowhere was this system found in such active and extensive operation as at Bristol.⁵

The demand of the colonists for laborers, created servants similar to those of the London Company, called *bondsmen* or *indentured servants*,⁶ who *covenanted* with the merchant, and he in turn with the planter, for five year's service. This indenture duly drawn, attested and sworn to, bound the bondsman "as a faithful, covenant servant, well and truly to serve for the space of five years next ensuing the arrival in the said plantation in the employment of a servant," and he was to be provided and allowed "all necessary clothes, meat, drink, washing and lodging, *fitting and convenient* for him, as covenant servants, in such cases, are usually provided for and allowed." Such a servant we find advertised as having run away from his master: "an Irish servant Man,

⁵ Macaulay.

⁶ This is the kind of laborer Macaulay found was often *crimped* or *kidnapped* and sent into the colony.

about forty-five years old, five feet eight inches high of a swarthy complexion, has long black hair, which is growing a little grey, and a remarkable scar under his right eye. He had on and took with him, when he went away, a short brown coat, made of country manufactured cloth, lined with red flannel with metal buttons; oznabergs trousers patched on both knees, a white shirt, an old pair shoes and an old felt hat.

"He had been a soldier in some part of America about the time of Braddock's defeat, and can give a good description of the country."

A ship load of indented (or indentured,) servants we find brought over in 1768 whose arrival and announcement for sale is advertised in the Virginia Gazette, March 3, 1768. "Just arrived, the Neptune—Captain Arbuckle—with one hundred and ten healthy servants, men, women and boys, among whom are many valuable trades-men, viz: tailors, weavers, barbers, blacksmiths, carpenters and joiners, shoemakers, a stay-maker, cooper, cabinet-maker, bakers, silversmiths, a gold and silver refiner and many others. The sale will commence at Leedstown, on the Rappahannock, on Wednesday the 9th of this instant (March). A reasonable credit will be allowed on giving approved security to Thomas Hodge."

(The regular permit for landing follows.)

Runaways were not unfrequent among slaves as well as servants; and many advertisements for their recovery appeared, often accompanied by an illustration of a slave with his wallet on his back; and in the case of women with children, her figure would be drawn, dragging a young child along by the hand. The rewards offered were proportioned to the value of the slave. When the runaway

was apprehended by the sheriff, the law required that he should publish a notice of the capture, for the benefit of the owner, but if at the end of a certain time no claimant appeared to demand his property, the captive was disposed of at auction.

Such a notice was found in an old news issue of 1840 "Committed to jail in the county of * * * * on Dec. 27, a negro mah slave, who says his name is



RUNAWAY SLAVE—1840.

From a small newspaper cut.

John. Said negro is of a copper color about five feet ten or eleven inches high and weighs about 165 pounds and has been shot in the left arm and shoulder, age about twenty-four years. Said negro says he belongs to Wm. Davis of * * * * county: was taken up by me on the 26th ulto. The owner is requested to come forward, pay charges and prove property, or said slave will be dealt with as the law directs in such cases. ———, Sheriff."

A reward of \$500 was offered by the owner for "My black man, Caesar, who left home the 13th of May last. He is about five feet eight or nine inches high and weighs about 160 pounds. Some of his front teeth are out and the tip of his *little* finger on his left hand is wanting. He is a pretty good plantation blacksmith. I have no hesitation in saying that he was stolen.

"The above reward will be paid to any person for the apprehension and conviction of the thief or thieves. For the negro a liberal remuneration will be given."

Another advertiser announces that his negro, named Dony Barney ran away on Sunday evening 21st without any provocation. He was purchased by me from the estate of ————— in ————— where he has a father and other relatives and many acquaintances in the neighborhood, where I presume he has gone. About twenty-three years of age, he is five feet nine to eleven inches high, rather slender and very black; and very polite when addressed. He had on a blue jacket and pantaloons of country yarn and fur cap, and took with him a blue cloth pea-coat, a cloth dress coat and other articles of clothing and two blankets.

"The only mark known is a scar behind his left ear. He is artful and cunning and doubtless will change his name and clothes. I will give \$100 if delivered to me or secured so I may get him."

The Sale of valuable negroes advertised:*

"The Subscriber will offer for sale at ——— court-house on the third Thursday in December next, being county-court day, all the negroes belonging to the estate

* "The man who would, from other motives than embarrassment of circumstances sell an honest, faithful slave would be looked upon as a sordid, inhuman wretch and be shunned by all his neighbors of respectable standing," cited by Howe.

of the late ———, ———, thirty or thirty-five in number, and very valuable. Amongst them are several female house servants, uncommonly likely, and at least twelve or fifteen boys and girls from nine to fifteen years of age. The grown negroes are obedient and faithful. By provision of will, these people are to be sold in families.

"A credit till the 1st of Nov., 1828, will be given. Bonds, with approved security, carrying interest from the date, will be required. The interest to be remitted if the principal is punctually paid ———, Executor.

"Thesale will be conducted by ———, Auctioneer."

"November 28, 1826."

It occasionally happened that slaves acquired means sufficient to purchase themselves and their families; in such cases the master did not exact the price he might obtain from others.

"While she was a colony, Virginia protested against any increase in the number of slaves by direct importation and enacted many laws for the prevention of the slave trade, which were vetoed by the sovereign power of England.

"When the Federal constitution was formed in 1787 the slave trade was permitted to continue until the year 1808 against her earnest protest and remonstrance. Many of her wisest statesmen and most prominent citizens were opposed to the perpetuation of slavery. In 1814 the policy of emancipation was urged, and in 1832 resolutions, proposing a scheme of emancipation were earnestly debated in the Virginia Legislature and were strongly favored by many of the foremost men of the state."⁷

Among those interested in their emancipation none were more active than Thomas Jefferson. Of the efforts to

⁷ Hon. John Goode.

abolish slavery, Jefferson writes "There are many virtuous men who would make any sacrifice for its extinguishment, many equally virtuous, who persuade themselves that it cannot be remedied. The value of the slave is every day lessening and his burthen on his master increasing; interest is therefore preparing the disposition to be just." None felt more keenly the responsibility of master to his slaves than Jefferson.

There are many court records testifying that individuals owning slaves, emancipated them and made provision for them until these people were able to support themselves.

They were sometimes returned in families to their native country and at others settled in non slave holding states.

Some Madison county wills, indicate the sentiments of certain inhabitants; which may be found duplicated in many other Virginia counties, at various times. "I give and bequeath unto my * * * * executors, all the negro slaves, I now own, or have any interest in and do most solemnly request them to do with my sd slaves as I now prescribe. It is my wish that they be liberated, so that they may enjoy the liberties and blessings of a free people and not approving of the custom of liberating slaves to remain in the United States, I recommend to my executors to select for their residence, some section of country which may supply them with all the comforts and necessities that may render their lives as agreeable and easy as possible * * * *

"The profits and proceeds from the sale of my land and effects to be applied for the removal and settlement of the sd negroes: and in case of a sufficiency of money being left after defraying these expenses, I request my excrs to buy back a negro girl, named Matilda, (I sold because of

pecuniary embarrassment) that she may be removed with her parents.

"This disposition of property is owing to no malignity of feeling towards my relations but because I think slaves are a general evil and withal I deprecate the principle. May 25, 1839. Proven at court in penalty of \$20,000, Nov. 27, 1847. Book 8, p. 202." These slaves were settled in the state of Ohio.

A second will, Book 9, p. 421, written in 1852 instructs the executors "to send my negroes (slaves) to Liberia, giving the men \$50 each and my servant woman, Verinda, and all of her children \$100 to take with them besides getting them out of the country; and bacon enough to last them six months after they get to Liberia."⁸

The Polish patriot, Kosciuzko, who came October 18, 1776, to aid in the American cause, had his sympathies aroused for the enslaved people, in whose interest he made his will, afterwards recorded in the county of Albemarle. The will of Kosciuzko reads "I, Thaddeus Kosciuzko, being just on my departure from America, do hereby declare and direct that should I make no other testimony disposition of my property in the United States, I hereby authorize my friend, Thomas Jefferson, to employ the whole thereof in purchasing negroes from among his own, or any others, and giving them liberty in my name; in giving them an education in trades or otherwise and in having them instructed for their new condition in the duties of morality which may make them good neighbors, good fathers or *moders*, husbands or wives, and in their duties as citizens teaching them to be defenders of their

⁸ These two wills happen to be made by an uncle and nephew.

liberty and country, and of the good order of society and in whatsoever may make them happy and useful: and I make the said Thomas Jefferson my executor of this.

KOSCIUZKO."

"5th day of May, 1798."

"At a circuit court held for Albemarle county the 12th day of May, 1819. This investment of writing purporting to be the last will and testament of Thaddeus Kosciuzko, deceased, was produced into court and satisfactory proof being produced of its being written entirely in the handwriting of the said Thaddeus Kosciuzko, the same is ordered to be recorded. And thereupon, Thomas Jefferson, the executor therein named, refused to take upon himself the burthen of the execution of said will. Teste.

JOHN CARR, C. C.

"Recorded in the Circuit Court Clerk's Office of Albemarle County."

Faithful service often won freedom, which the master's will secured. Religious principle required the Quaker sect to free their slaves.

A distinct class were the domestics; and with the one who held the place of *mammy* in the household, the tie of affection binding her and her charge was never outgrown. Her prototype may be found, occasionally, along the Gulf Coast of the Southern States.

We have seen that labor in Virginia was supplied by four kinds of laborers.

1. Those hired in the usual way; in the demand of capital for labor and the need of employment by the wage-earner.

2. Those bound by indenture for a specified period of service: these were called "kids" from the fact that they were often kidnapped into service.

3. Those who came under the name of convicts, often called "felons," but were many of them political offenders, who were sent (without class distinction) by the ruling powers, to rid themselves of their dangerous neighborhood: sometimes condemned to death, they were given the choice of being hung or sent to Virginia.

4. The slaves, who formed a class by themselves. When the law prohibiting further importations was finally carried into effect, and slave trade cut off, there was a hope of the decline of what had grown to be a formidable evil; at least, it was now confined to narrower limits, the question of natural increase. Feeling in their full force the evils of slavery, which England had introduced, the Virginians would freely have abolished the institution, but while suffering from the burden, danger and responsibility entailed, the accomplishment of the desired end baffled the penetration of the wise.

In a republic and particularly in an agricultural country, such as Virginia has been, the question of labor is apt to be a vexed one.

CHAPTER XXIV.

COLONY AND STATE BOUNDARIES.

The early colonists acquired land at first through the general permission of residence given by Powhatan and his successors. The natives had nothing worth taking but their land and this was of such a vast extent there was abundance for both Indian and white settler, so long as peace was observed in good faith by each party.

What the natives held was all in common, with no distinct and exclusive property, and every man had a right to choose or abandon his situation at pleasure.

"When his subjects murmured at the English 'planting in the countrie,' Powhatan made answer, 'why should you be offended when they hurt you not, nor take anything by force, they take but a little waste ground which doth you nor any of us any good.'"

The needs and demands of the settlers created a market for the hitherto unvalued property, considered but as tribal camping ground and hunting-fields; as they, by barter or conquest¹ parted with their eastern territory, the natives retired into the fastnesses of undiscovered country, and the whites established themselves more and more firmly upon their newly acquired estates, by attention to their agricultural interests. These estates, from the number

¹That the lands were taken by conquest from the Indians is not so general a truth as is supposed. I find in our histories and records repeated proofs of purchases which cover a considerable part of the lower country, and many more would doubtless be found on further research. The upper country we know has been acquired by purchases made in the most unexceptionable form.—Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, p. 153, London Edition, Stockdale, 1787.

of acres they were supposed to contain, were originally called *hundreds*, but after their use as tobacco plant farms, they naturally acquired the name of *plantations* and their owners were henceforth *planters*.

As in government, so from the situation of the country, there was cause for dissatisfaction in the limitations of the first patent. Foote² has shewn why James's first patent proved insufficient so that it was necessary that an application should be made for the second, granted May 23, 1609. "More than one-half³ of all the lands within the prescribed limits were covered by wide and deep water courses, the dry land divided into small necks widening as you advance upwards and separated by streams of such width and depth as to render them often impassible and dangerous and the first plantation intended to be and that continued the chief place of the Colony was near the western and most exposed frontier. Every hope of prosperity and security required that the limits be enlarged."

"By an Ordinance adopted by the London Company which was continued in force by the crown after revocation of the Charter, every person removing to Virginia at his own expense, and intending to remain there, was entitled to fifty acres of land. The same rule was extended to every member of his family; and a husband was entitled to the same amount for his wife and each of his children. Also whoever brought others at his own cost, became entitled to fifty acres for each one so imported. These

² William Henry Foote, a Presbyterian divine, moved to Winchester, Va., from Connecticut. He travelled through the country, in the calls of his profession, and so familiarized himself with its value and its disadvantages, that in writings descriptive of it, he has left valuable contributions to the history of his adopted state. His "Sketches of Virginia" are particularly in connection with conspicuous members of his church.

³ Foote uses the term *moiety*.

rights were called *Head Rights* and were assignable, and the purchaser acquired the same benefit to which the original holder would have been entitled. This mode remained in force for many years. The manner of taking lands was thus:—the claimant proved his title to any dividend or head-right by making an affidavit of the facts whereon his claim was founded, and subjoined a list of the names of the original holders. The list being carried to the Secretary's office was there examined and verified and, if regular, was recorded. A certificate or warrant given to the owner, must be then exhibited to the surveyor of the corporation within which he proposed to locate his claim and the land desired was shewn by the surveyor. It was the duty of the surveyor to lay off the required quantity of land, wherever desired,—if such land had not been previously appropriated—and to bound the land either by natural boundaries or by chopping notches in the trees that were found on the lines of the courses. The survey being made, a copy of it together with the warrant upon which it had been made, was returned to the Secretary's office: where, if no objection was urged, a Patent was made out in conformity with the survey and warrant." This was the form used in proving their importation: "_____ came into court and prayed leave to make oath that he was immediately imported at his own expense, into this colony from Great Britain and this is the first time of his proving his importation in order to obtain head-rights."

All the earliest grants are of lands on some water-course. "The first claimant having pitched upon some notorious point as the beginning, the surveyor ran a line from thence along the margin of the stream to a distance, equal to one-half of the number of acres to which he was entitled.

Then from either end of this line, he ran another straight line at right angles to the first to the distance of a statute mile, these he marked and the survey was then complete. Each succeeding survey being made in the same manner, the first grants constituted a series of parallelograms all fronting on the water and running back a mile. Arbitrary allowances were made for useless lands and for the errors caused by the attempt to extend a surveyor's chain through the thick brushwood of a primitive forest."

In the western part of Virginia "the division lines were generally made in an amicable manner before any survey was instituted: and in doing this proprietors were guided mainly by the tops of ridges, and water-courses."

"There had been at an early period, an inferior kind of title called a 'tomahawk right,' made by deadening a few trees, near the head of a spring and marking the bark of some one or more of them with the initials of the person improving the land. These rights were often bought and sold.

"The greater number of the western farms bore a striking resemblance to an amphitheater: the buildings occupied a low situation and the tops of the surrounding hills were the boundaries of the tract to which the family mansion belonged. The farmers were fond of tracts of this description, because they said they were attended with the convenience 'that every thing comes to the house down hill.'"⁵

As the Colony flourished, its frontier extended to the Potomac in the interior and coastwise expanded to the Albemarle Sound; upon which the first permanent settlers in North Carolina pitched their tents, having been attracted

⁵ Howe. Great West.

by a report of an adventurer from Virginia, who on his return from there, "celebrated the kindness of the native people, the fertility of the country and the happy climate, that yielded two harvests in each year."⁵

North Carolina was at first called our county of *Albemarle in Carolina*, but about 1700 it began to be known as *the Colony of North Carolina*. As the settlements began to extend the unlocated boundary became the subject of much altercation.⁶

The Virginians under titles from the crown had taken up lands to the Southward of the proper limits, and the Carolinians under warrants from the proprietors, were charged with taking up lands that belonged to the crown. Before January, 1711, Commissioners had been appointed to run the dividing line: a record of "this operation being taken about two miles up the Wycocan Creek" in the year 1710, is given in the *Virginia Historical Magazine*.

In 1711 other commissioners were appointed, by Virginia and North Carolina, who failed to accomplish their work, through want of money. The public inconveniences experienced from these failures deeply affected the peace of society and a remedy was sought for in the act of limitations: "whereas great suit debate and controversy hath heretofore been and may arise hereafter, for prevention whereof and for quieting men's estates, this act professes to be made."

⁵ Ramsay's *Annals of Tennessee*.

⁶In 1630 Charles I. granted to Sir Robert Heath a large portion of the lands of the company, commencing at the 36th degree of latitude and including the whole southern portion of the United States, under the name of Carolina. As this country was not settled until long afterwards and the charter became void by non-compliance with its terms, it could not be regarded as injurious by the colony, except as an evidence of the facility with which their chartered rights could be diverted. —Howe.

In March 5, 1727, the attempt to run the line was repeated, with Wm. Byrd, Wm. Dandridge and Rich'd Fitzwilliams as Virginia comm'rs. Col. Byrd left a history of this undertaking (in writings known as the Westover Mss., published in Petersburg in 1841.) which is not very complimentary to North Carolina. He states that "the borderers laid it to heart if their land was taken in Virginia, they chose much rather to belong to Carolina, where they pay no tribute to God or to Caesar."⁷

The boundary line needed to be taken through the Dismal Swamp, "once a favorite hunting-ground of the Indians; arrow-heads, knives and hatchets are found there in quantity, showing that the natives were attracted by the abundance of deer, bears, turkeys and other wild animals. The swamp is more elevated than the surrounding country and here the cypress, juniper, oak, pine, etc., are of enormous size: much of the lumber is brought out, either through ditches cut for the purpose or are carted out by mules, on roads made of poles laid across the road so as to touch each other, forming a bridge or causeway. The Dismal Swamp Canal runs through it from north to south and the perpetual green is pleasant to the eye, every season being like spring in its verdure. Towards the south the large reed-covered tract without trees, kept in motion by the wind, resembles a green sea."

An early description of this swamp defines it as "a vast bog extending from north to south near thirty miles; and from east to west, at a medium about ten;—it lies partly in Virginia and partly in North Carolina. Not less than five navigable rivers, besides creeks rise out of it whereof two run into Virginia and three into North Carolina."⁸

⁷ Jno. H. Wheeler, *Hist. of N. Ca.*

⁸ 1845. Cited by Howe.

The ground of this swamp is a mere quagmire and it is overgrown with reeds, bamboo-briars and cypress. "It is remarkable that towards the heart of this horrible desert, no beast or bird approaches, nor indeed do any birds fly over it for fear of the noisome exhalations that exude from this vast body of treacherous marshland.



HARPER'S FERRY FROM THE BLUE RIDGE.

The first habitations of white men, west of the Blue Ridge, designed for permanent residences, were erected upon the waters that flow into the Cohongorooton and with it form the Potomac.

As the beauty and fertility of the country became known by hunters and explorers, Fairfax naturally searched for the longest stream that passed through the Blue Ridge at Harper's Ferry, and gave the name of Potomac to the

Cohongorooton of the aborigines, the river which forms the dividing line between Maryland and Virginia from its mouth to its head-spring.

Through his grant, Fairfax claimed that extensive country embraced in the counties of Jefferson, Berkeley, Morgan, Hampshire, Frederick, Clarke, Warren, Page, Shenandoah and Hardy; but his claim was neither admitted in Virginia nor established in England. All the streams of this section, seek their outlet by the Cohongorooton at Harper's Ferry. The Opecquon, rising at the base of North Mountain west of Winchester, winds through the valley to the Potomac: on the banks of this stream the first settlements were made. Cedar creek rising in the same mountain and crossing Shenandoah valley claims the second settlements and following these along the Shenandoah in the counties of Page, Warren and Shenandoah, other settlements followed in order. About the same time Linvell's creek, in Rockingham, in Beverley's grant, was chosen for a settlement. And in quick succession the head-streams of the James and waters among the Alleghany ridges emptying into the Potomac, were adorned with habitations of men associated for mutual defense and protection.

The lawsuit to establish Fairfax's claim alarmed the emigrants and hopes of security lured them to the region of country, of which Staunton is near the centre, untroubled as it was by opposing grants. Those who first came were Scotch-Irish more or less direct from Ireland, next to appear were the Germans, and then the Quakers, who were of English origin."⁹

The name of Kentucky was derived from the long, deep and clifty river called by the Indians, Kan-tuck-kee. The

⁹ W. H. Foote.

distance of this frontier country from the populous parts of the colonies, the wars with the frontier Indians and the claim of the French king to the regions of the Mississippi and Ohio had prevented attempts to explore it by authority.

Governor Spotswood had recommended a plan for reducing it into English possession but was not supported. After the beginning of the war of 1739, between England and Spain, Spotswood, then living in retirement, was appointed to command the colonial troops, and assured that his project of occupying the regions of the Ohio should be carried into execution.

The peace of 1763 secured to Great Britain the right to the country east of the Mississippi, comprehending the Kentucky district.

Another circumstance influencing the settlement of the country on the Ohio was the bounty given in the western lands to soldiers of the Virginia troops who had served in the war of Canada. These lands were to be surveyed by the claimants, whose business it was to select them.

The Great Kanawha, having its sources in North Carolina and bearing northwardly through Virginia at the foot of the Alleghany, where it was called New River, had been explored and settled by Virginians. Some land had been surveyed here as early as 1772.

In 1773 surveyors were deputed to lay out bounty lands on that river; these descended from Fort Pitt to the rapids. Again in 1774 other surveyors were sent on like business. The next year the people of Virginia, being better informed of Kentucky's circumstances, repaired to the country in small parties for the purpose of selecting future settlements. Virginia had hitherto paid but little attention to Kentucky: the next year changed the state of things.

Congress having adopted the Declaration of Independence, Virginia took the decided attitude of a free and sovereign state, formed her constitution, and asserted her rights as co-extensive with the limits of her colonial charter of 1609. Within these limits which extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific, she asserted the exclusive right of purchasing the soil from the aborigines. The extinguishment of the Indian title devolved on the state, in whom was vested the right of purchase from the Indians. The settlers acquiesced in Virginia's authority and looked to her for protection, and their titles.

Legislature confirmed a purchase of the country north of the Kentucky river from the Six Nations. The title to the Kentucky land north of the Tennessee river now silenced by purchase, Virginia extended her dominion and settlement to the Ohio 800 miles from the Atlantic. When Legislature assembled such was the increased importance of Kentucky and such the disposition of Virginia to accommodate the people of this remote county of Fincastle, with the benefits of civil and military organization, that its southwestern section was erected into a new county, called Kentucky, organized in 1777, and a court of justice opened quarterly.

In March, 1783, the three counties erected from Fincastle were united into Kentucky district.¹⁰

Next to acknowledgment of the independence of the United States was the ascertaining the boundaries of states.

When Virginia offered to the United States the country comprehended within her charter on the northwest side of the Ohio river and a formal deed was made in 1784, she conceded a right of soil with the right of dominion; Kentucky

¹⁰ Marshall, "History of Kentucky."

remained her most remote frontier and the Ohio her north-west boundary: thus she secured her peace in the union, on which she relied for protection. Many new settlements were made and as the country became better known and the science of location improved the difference between a vague country and one that was special had been learned, and the face of the earth was covered with warrants.¹¹

The Virginia Commissioners, Archibald Stewart, Joseph Martin and Creed Taylor, met those appointed as Commissioners for Kentucky to run the dividing line between Virginia and Kentucky, on October, 1799, and concluded a convention at the forks of the Great Sandy River, whereby the line was run from the boundary line of North Carolina, then Tennessee, along the top of Cumberland mountains, northeastwardly, keeping the highest part of the mountains between the head-waters of Cumberland and Kentucky Rivers on the west side thereof, and the head-waters of Powell's river, Guest's river, and the Pond fork of Sandy on the east side; continuing along the top of said mountain, crossing the road, leading over the same at the little Point gap, where it is called the Hollow mountain, and where it terminates at the west fork of Sandy, called Russell's Fork; thence with a line run east until it intersects the other principal branch of Sandy; thence down to its junction with the Main west branch and down Main Sandy, to its confluence with the Ohio river.

The following is given as the formation of Kentucky District. Fincastle county formed from Botetourt in December, 1772, was by Act of December 6, 1776, divided into Kentucky, Washington and Montgomery counties; and the name of Fincastle became extinct.

¹¹ Marshall "History of Kentucky." (1760-1841.)

In March, 1783, Kentucky county was formed into one district. In 1785 there was passed the first act favoring a separation of Kentucky on certain conditions. In January, 1786, by act of the General Assembly of Virginia the counties of Jefferson, Nelson, Bourbon, Lincoln, Madison and Mercer, were known by the name of Kentucky district and were allowed to separate from the commonwealth and be formed into an independent state.

October, 1786, an act was passed postponing Kentucky's separation.

Another act concerning Kentucky's separation, was passed in 1788.

In 1789 the General Assembly passed an act by which the Kentucky district embraced in addition to the above, the counties of Woodford and Mason and was permitted to separate from Virginia and become an independent state on terms materially different from the Act of 1785 which was found incompatible with the real views of Virginia as well as injurious to the people of the said district. An Act passing fixed 1792 as the date for the independence of Kentucky, in which year this Act was carried into effect.

Jefferson county formed in 1780, was one of the three original counties composing the district of Kentucky. The Virginia Legislature passed "an act for establishing the town of Louisville at the Falls of the Ohio;" and the trustees were appointed to lay off the town on a tract of 1,000 acres of land, granted to John Connolly¹³ by the British

¹³ Evidence was brought to light of a scheme, projected by Connolly and matured by Dunmore for a co-operation of the various Indian tribes with the Tories on the frontiers. Rewards were offered to militia captains inclined to the royal cause, and willing to act under Connolly. He was invested with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel

Government, which he had forfeited by adhering to the English monarch. Each purchaser was to build a dwelling house sixteen feet by twenty at least, with a brick or stone chimney, within two years from the date of sale: this time was extended on account of the inroads of Indians as this settlement was more exposed than those in the interior.¹⁴

"The proprietors of the Kentucky lands obtained their patents from Virginia and their rights were of several kinds. Those which arose from military service; from settlement and pre-emption; or from warrants from the treasury. The military rights were held by officers or their representatives as a reward for services given in the two last wars. The settlement and pre-emption rights arose from occupation. Every man who had remained in the country one year or raised one crop was allowed to have a settlement of 400 acres and a pre-emption of 1,000 more adjoining it. Every man who had built a cabin or made any improvement, by himself or others, was entitled to a pre-emption of 1,000 acres where such improvement was made. In March, 1780, the settlement and pre-emption rights ceased and treasury

of a royalist regiment to be raised on the frontiers. Fort Pitt was to be the *rendezvous* of all the forces to act under him, among which were several companies of the Royal Irish in the Illinois country. From thence they would march through Virginia and join Dunmore on April 20, at Alexandria, where an army was to land under the cannon of ships of war and possess themselves of the town.

For a time fortune favored this formidable plot, in the prosecution of which, Connolly travelled long distances in various directions. Suspicions were at length aroused; an emissary of the governor's was arrested upon whom were found papers partly disclosing the plot. These led to the arrest of Connolly, while with two Scotch confederates he was making his way to Detroit. Upon searching their baggage a general plan of the whole scheme was found, with large sums of money and a letter from Dunmore to one of the Indian chiefs.—Howe, 112.

¹⁴Collin's Historical Sketches.

warrants were issued authorizing their possessor to locate the quantity of land mentioned in them wherever it could be found vacant in Virginia.

"After the entry was made in the land office, there being one in each county, the person making the entry took out a copy of the location and proceeded to survey when he pleased. The plot and certificate of such survey was to be returned to the office within three months after the survey was made, there to be recorded and a copy of the record was to be taken out in twelve months after the return of the survey and produced to the assistant register of the land office in Kentucky, where it should lie six months, that prior locators might have time and opportunity to enter a caveat and prove their better right. If no caveat was entered in that time the plot and certificate were sent to the land office in Richmond, and three months more were allowed to have the patent returned to the owner."

The validity of the right of Virginia to this extensive western territory had been disputed by some, but without reason. "The western boundary of that State by charter, restricted by the treaty of Paris in 1763, was fixed upon the Ohio river. She had purchased the soil from the Indians, had first settled it and established wholesome laws for the regulation and government of the inhabitants and therefore her right to Kentucky land was as permanent as the independence of America."¹⁵

VIRGINIA'S DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

"In a general convention of delegates and representatives from the several counties and corporations of the state, held

¹⁵ Imlay. *Topographical Description of Western Territory.*

at the capitol in the city of Williamsburg on Monday the 6th of May, 1776, Virginia made a declaration of rights and agreed upon a constitution or form of government. Amongst other things contained therein was ordained:

Section 21. The territories contained within the charters erecting the colonies of Maryland, Pennsylvania, North and South Carolina, are hereby ceded and forever confirmed to the people of these colonies respectively, etc.

“Here was magnanimously cut off and surrendered, all the territories which had been taken from Virginia by royal patents to satisfy the grants to the lord’s proprietors. The Mississippi and the latitude 36 deg. 30 m. were now firmly settled as boundaries of North Carolina, and it was hoped no further difficulties would ever arise on the subject. Full of this expectation the assemblies of Virginia and North Carolina in 1779 appointed commissioners to extend the boundary line between them, as the extension of the western settlements then made it a necessary measure. They were to begin the extension where Fry and Jefferson, and Weldon and Churton ended their work. And if that be found to be truly in latitude 36 deg. 30 min. north, then to run from thence due west to the Tennessee or the Ohio. Or if it be found not truly in said latitude then to run from the sd place due north or due South, into the sd latitude and thence due west to the sd Tennessee or Ohio river, correcting the sd course at due intervals by astronomical observations.” Col. Henderson and William B. Smith for N. Ca. and Drs. Walker and Smith for Virginia met in 1780 to extend the line.

When the Virginia Commissioners were appointed on September 6, 1779, to finish this work, the place where Messrs. Fry and Jefferson had ended their line could not

be found. These last surveyors reported "We continued as far as Deer fork, being $123\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Steep Rock creek; and considered that as a number of people were settling to the west, who imagined they were in North Carolina, while we thought they were on lands reserved for our officers and soldiers, we thought it best to keep on.

"The season was advanced, the country mountainous and barren, not yielding enough cane for our pack horses; these reasons made us go further into a better country, where many people being about to settle, it might be important to run the line speedily. The map will show a place on Cumberland River where we built canoes to carry our baggage and rest the pack horses. We were frozen up more than forty days in a river never known to freeze before.

"In February, 1780, from a Creek on the west bank of Cumberland River, we extended the line across the heads of Green and Red rivers, through the country called the Barrens; again across the Cumberland Mts, where there is a cleft, and at the end of one hundred and forty miles, on March 23rd we found ourselves on the bank of the Tennessee River and had run the line as far as authorized."

Haywood¹⁶ writes "the Assembly of North Carolina on Nov'r 2nd, 1789, referred to a committee, the letter of the Virginia Governor on the subject of the dividing line and they reported 'that it was proposed on the part of Virginia that the line, commonly called *Walker's* be estab-

¹⁶ In his "Civil and Political History of Tennessee" John Haywood, incorporated much of the colonial history of the border country. Haywood published his work under the auspices of an act, supplementary to an act entitled "an act for the encouragement of learning by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, and extending the benefits thereof to designing, etching and engraving, historical and other prints." 1824.

lished as a boundary between the states and as they have every reason to believe that this is the true line, it is recommended that a law be passed establishing it, with a reservation in favor of the oldest grants from either state, in deciding the rights of individual claimants on the tract between the two lines.'"

The Assembly of Virginia, having received official information that the North Carolina legislature had resolved to establish this line, upon the 7th of December, 1791, enacted "that Walker's line be declared the boundary line of the states."

These proceedings were after the cession act and were not accepted by the state of Tennessee as valid.

The pacification which followed the death of Bacon was accompanied with increased immigration and an extension of the settlements into the Valley of Virginia.

In 1690 they reached to the Blue Ridge and explotations of the distant west were soon after undertaken. Some rivers had been discovered on the west side of the *Appalachian* mountains which fall into the Ohio river, and it in turn fell into the Mississippi below the river Illinois.

It is said that Governor Spotswood passed Cumberland Gap during his tour of exploration and gave the name to that celebrated pass, the mountain, and river which they have since borne.

While the colonists were slowly extending the settlements they remained entirely ignorant of the great interior of the continent. In their hunting excursions the highlands of Virginia had been seen, but adventure had not discovered the distant sources of its rivers, and the country beyond the Blue Ridge was yet unknown. Its original inhabitants

still roamed through the ancient woods, free, independent and secure, in happy ignorance of the approaches of civilized man.

That part of the Northern boundary extending from the top of the Alleghany mountains to the eastern bank of the Tennessee is the line of separation between Virginia and Tennessee.¹⁷ On the 13th of November, 1801, the assembly of Tennessee authorized the appointment of commissioners to meet those from Virginia to take the latitude and run the line.

These met at Cumberland Gap and on December 18, 1802, came to an agreement, the act being passed November, 1803: Gen. Jos. Martin, Creed Taylor and Peter Johnson on the part of Virginia; Gen. John Sevier, Gen. George Rutledge and Moses Fisk, for Tennessee. The boundary line beginning on the summit of the White Top mountain at the termination of the northeastern corner of the state of Tennessee, a due west course to the top of the Cumberland mountain where the southwestern corner of the state of Virginia terminates, keeping at equal distance from the lines called Walker's and Henderson's; "and they have had the new line run as aforesaid, marked with five chops in the form of a diamond, as directed by the said commissioners and accordingly run by Brice Martin and Nathan B. Markland, the surveyors duly appointed for the purpose, under the direction of the comm'rs."

The comm'rs unanimously agreed to recommend to their several states that individuals having claims or titles to lands on either side of the line as fixed and between the lines, should not in consequence thereof, in any wise be affected thereby and that the legislatures of their

¹⁷ Ramsay's History of Tennessee.

respective states should pass mutual laws to render all such claims or titles secure to the owners.¹⁸

The District of Columbia was chosen as the American seat of government by Act of Congress in 1790. The needed reservation of land for this purpose, was ceded by the states of Maryland and Virginia: about sixty square miles north of the Potomac, was yielded by Maryland, and forty square miles south of that river, by Virginia. The latter parcel was reconveyed to Virginia in 1846.

In 1792 the Federal Commissioners advertised for designs for a Capitol Building and President's House. "They wished to express in some degree, in the style of their architecture, the sublime sentiments of liberty, by exhibiting a grandeur of conception, a republican simplicity, and that true elegance of propriety which corresponds to a tempered freedom." A number of plans were received and examined by the commissioners, assisted by General Washington. When the selection was made the architect was charged to preserve what Jefferson called "that very capital beauty, the portico of the east front."

The town of Alexandria, incorporated in 1779 and originally called *Belhaven* lay principally in the district ceded to the general government in 1801. On March 13, 1847, it was enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, "that the territory, comprising the county of Alexandria in the District of Columbia, heretofore ceded by the Commonwealth to the United States and by act of Congress, approved on the 9th day of July, 1846, retroceded to this commonwealth, and by it accepted, is hereby declared to be an integral portion of this commonwealth and the citizens thereof are hereby declared to be

¹⁸ Haywood's History of Tennessee.

subject to all the provisions and entitled to all the benefits, rights and privileges of the Bill of Rights and Constitution of this Commonwealth."

To avoid the delay and trouble of locating their bounty land, as well as because of the doubtfulness of their location, the warrant holders frequently sold or transferred their assignments. One of these from a Revolutionary officer, Captain Angus Rucker, is to be found among the court records: "Whereas I, Augus Rucker, of Madison County, Virginia, am entitled to 1,000 acres of Military land for my services as an officer of the Virginia State line during the American Revolution, which entry was made August 11th, 1784, by virtue of a Military warrant No. 98 in the following words or figures—'August 11th, 1784, No. 485. Angus Rucker enters 1,000 acres of land in part of a military warrant No. 98 beginning where Charles Russell's entry No. 484 crosses Clark's river on the upper side running up the river and out on each side so far as that the length up the river may be double the length of the survey.

Signed, Teste

1815.

WILLIAM CROGANS.'

"I, Angus Rucker * * * * do by these presents hereby assign and make over all my right, claim and demand, title and interest in the above mentioned 1,000 acres unto Philip Slaughter and do hereby authorize and empower the Register of the land office, or any other properly authorized officer, to grant a patent to the said Philip Slaughter his heirs and assigns for the aforesaid 1,000 acres * * * * and whereas the said land is located in what is called the Indian Territory and no survey can be made or patent issued for the same until the Indian title shall be *purchased*, now it is clearly and fully understood by

the parties that the said, Angus Rucker, only sells and transfers his interest in and to said land and that he nor any of his heirs are to be held responsible for any loss or damage in case the said land should never be obtained."

CHAPTER XXV.

COUNTY CHRONICLES.

Every county "brings a several tale."

At the formation of the first eight counties in 1634, "Achomat, called by the English Northampton," was the only county, on that side of the bay, belonging to the colony of Virginia. "Accawmacke, the northernmost of two counties constituting the eastern shore, cut off from the rest of the state by the Chesapeake Bay." "In June, 1608, the colonists landed on the eastern neck of the bay and were kindly received by Acomack, the prince of that peninsular, a part of which still bears his name."

After his voyage to Virginia in 1648, Colonel Norwood wrote "A perfect Description"¹ of the colony, telling "there are in Virginia about 15,000 English and of negroes 300 good servants. About 1,000 English are seated upon the Acamake above by Cape Charles, where Captain Yeardley is chief commander, now called the county of Northampton by the English, which is the only county on that side of the bay belonging to Virginia."

Here he was entertained by "Esquire Yardly, a gentleman of good name,—whose father had sometime been governor;—he had married a wife from Rotterdam I had known from a child. Her father, Custis, kept a victualling house, and was general host of our nation there."

"In Northampton, a wild crop, called magotty-bay bean luxuriates, when the fields are not in cultivation, and this

¹ Printed for Rd. Wodenoth at the Star under Peter's church in Cornhill, 1649.

serves as a fertilizing plant. Here wind-mills are in use but tide-mills when attainable are preferred; these being placed at the mouth of small inlets, which deeply indent the shore.²

Formed in 1634 as Accawmacke, this county's name was changed in 1642 to Northampton, the limits of which in 1672 were reduced by the taking from it the present county of Accomac. The principal settlement was Drummondstown, named after the family of the unfortunate victim in Bacon's rebellion, whose plantation was appropriated by Sir William Berkley, and his personal property "removed and embezzled" so that his widow and children were forced to fly and wander in the wilderness and woods till they were well-nigh reduced to starvation, before relieved by the arrival of the commissioners.³

Besides this town there were the three small villages Horntown, Modest-town and Pingoteague. In Eastville, the present county seat of Northampton, are preserved records dating from the year 1640.

The Farmer's Register⁴ claimed that "the Hebrides of Scotland did not possess a hundredth part of the grazing advantages of the Atlantic islands along the coast of this county; the two northernmost being Chincoteague and Assateague. Upon the latter isle, immense numbers of wild horses were raised, and it was customary to have annual gatherings, called *horse-pennings* in the month of June to drive these wild horses into pens where they were seized by the islanders. The imagination can scarcely conceive the enthusiasm with which this exciting sport was anticipated and enjoyed, which became established as a

² Howe, Antiquities.

³ Campbell, p. 322.

⁴ Howe, Antiquities.

yearly, frantic carnival. For fifty miles above and below the point of meeting, all who loved wild adventure, hurried to this scene of jollity on the narrow thread of beach along which the horses careered at the top of their speed, with manes and tails waving in the wind, before a company of men mounted upon the fleetest steeds, shouting, and forcing the animals into the angular pens of pine logs prepared to enclose them; a scene of unrivalled noise scarcely possible, adequately, to describe. The rustic splendor, wild festivity, the beautiful horse in all his native vigor, panting in the toils, furious with heat, rage and fright. Half a century ago these animals were greatly diminished, and attendance at the sport much decreased, but on Chincoteague the custom is still celebrated with enthusiasm, for the pleasures of the chase and for securing and branding colts. Here friends meet to recall old associations, many making it a home-coming occasion.



OLD MOORE HOUSE NEAR YORKTOWN.

York, one of the original eight counties formed in 1634, is memorable principally from the surrender of Cornwallis on October 19, 1781, at its county seat, Yorktown, established by law in 1705. The articles of capitulation were signed at the Moore House, on Temple Farm,—the property of a widow Moore,—about a mile below Yorktown.

York River, upon which the town was located, is here a mile wide and stretches far away until it merges into Chesapeake bay. On its banks are the ruins of the old church, the bell to which bore the inscription "1725": this church was destroyed by fire in 1814. Towards the building of the church Hon. Francis Nicholson contributed £20 sterling, which was recorded in the York county court books: "York county October ye 26th, 1696. I promise to give five pounds sterling towards building the cott. house at Yorke Town, and twenty pounds sterl'g if within two years *they* build a brick church att the same townē. As witness my hand ye day and year above written

(witnesses)

FFRA: NICHOLSON

Stiffen ffloward.

Robert Bill; November ye 24th: 1696.

The above writing p'ented in cott: and according to order is committed to Record.

WILLIAM SEDGWICK, cl. cur."

The church walls are composed of stone marl, which is soft when taken out of its native bed and becomes hardened by time and exposure, until it acquires the hardness and durability of solid stone.⁵

This town possessed an old tavern, called *The Swan*, which was said to be the oldest in Virginia.⁶

⁵ Campbell, "Yorktown" So. Lit. Mess. 1844.

⁶ Howe.

The preamble to the act for the formation of Spotsylvania County declares that "the frontiers towards the high mountains are exposed to danger from the Indians, and the late settlements of the French to the westward of the said mountains; therefore it is enacted that Spotsylvania bounds upon Snow creek up to the mill, thence to the North Anna, up the said river as far as convenient, and over the mountains, so as to include the northern passage through the mountains; which tract shall become a county, with a parish by the name of St. George."

The residence of Spotswood, after whom it was named, and the seat of justice, was in Germanna, where the first court was held August 1, 1722. This location proving inconvenient to the people, it was directed that the court should sit from August 1, 1732, at Fredericksburg, a town founded in 1727 and named for Prince Frederick, son of King George II.

"Seventeen years later the law causing the change, was repealed because it was derogatory to his majesty's prerogative to take from the governor his power and authority of removing the courts, also because it might be inconvenient in a case of small-pox or other contagious-distemper."

In 1780 court was held at the house of John Holladay until the new court-house could be completed, the old building being unfit to hold courts in. The records of Fredericksburg and the county were incorporated until the operation of the corporation court system in 1782, from which time they were separate and distinct and the county court was settled at Spotsylvania Court House.⁷

⁷ Spotsylvania Court Records.

Spotswood not only founded Germanna,⁸ but also erected the first furnace,⁹ in North America, for making iron, winning for himself the title given him by Colonel Byrd, of "the Tubal Cain of Virginia." This furnace was operated by the German mechanics, who were seated above the falls of Rappahannock within view of the vast mountains. "Here were Spotswood's servants and workmen of most handicraft trades, a church, court house, and a dwelling house of his own."

These Germans with "good quantity of rich land, throve well, and lived happily, entertaining generously; these made good wines, which by the experience of Robert Beverley was done easily and in large quantities, from the cultivation of wild grapes."

A massacre of the inhabitants at Germanna by the Indians, induced their removal ten miles higher in the fork of Rappahannock to *land of their own*. "There had been a chapel about a bow-shot from the colonel's house, at the end of an avenue of cherry trees, but some pious people lately burnt it down, with intent to get another built nearer to their own homes."

When a county named Orange, from the color of its soil, was taken from Spotsylvania in 1734, Spotswood, asked to contribute the site for the new Court House, recorded his answer in the county archives: "Whereas I have been desired to declare upon what terms I will admit the C. H. of Orange County to be built upon my land in case the commissioners for placing the same should judge the most convenient situation thereof to be within the bounds of my Patent. And forasmuch as I am not

⁸ Previous to 1724, on a "horseshoe peninsula of 400 acres."

⁹ Operative May 1st, 1721.

only willing to satisfy such commissioners that no obstruction on that point will arise on my part but am so disposed to make those terms as easie to the county as can be well expected. I do hereby declare that I consent to the building a C. H., Prison, pillory and stocks on any part of my lands not already Leased or appropriated and that I shall convey in the form and manner which the trustees of the county can in reason require, such a quantity of Land as may be sufficient for setting the sd Buildings on with a convenient court-yard thereto, for the yearly acknowledgment of one pound of Tobacco: and moreover I will allow to be taken gratis off my Land all the Timber or Stone which shall be wanted for erecting and repairing the sd Buildings.

Given under my hand, at Germanna the 6th of January 1734. Recorded March 8th same year.

A. SPOTSWOOD." ¹⁰

A record in Orange county dated July 20, 1736, states that "James Barbour and Samuel Ball, pursuant to the dedimus, administered the oaths appointed by act of Parliament to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy (the oath appointed to be taken by an act of Parliament in the first year of the reign of his late majesty, King George I," entitled an act for the further security of his majesty's person and government, and the succession of the crown in the heirs of the late princess Sophia, being protestants and for the extinguishing the hopes of the pretended prince of Wales and his open and secret abettors.)" ¹¹

¹⁰ Court Record.

¹¹ Court Records.

In 1743 a petition was brought into Orange county court from the frontier merchants to be relieved from giving credits to vagabond people by which the county people have and are likely to continue to suffer.

At the same time and place James Porteus, Gent., made oath that the translation of a patent from Queen Christina of Sweden to Hans Arnnidson Bësk was "according to his skill and knowledge from the originale in the Swedish Tongue into the English."

Until 1738 all the country west of the Blue Ridge was embraced in the county of Orange, but in October of that year this county was divided into two counties,—Augusta, containing an area now covering 40 counties and 4 states,—and Frederick, bounded by the Potomac on the north and the Blue Ridge on the east, a line from Hedgman's head spring to the main spring of the Potomac dividing it from Augusta, which included the remaining western land.

On January 20, 1775, Augusta's declaration of independence was made at Fort Chiswell. During the war, when pursued by Tarleton to Charlottesville, the legislature fled to Staunton, where they finished their session.¹² Here were held two large conventions afterwards, to deliberate on forming the constitution of Virginia.

"The belief that the capital would be moved westward seems to have been prevalent and by some it was prophesied that Staunton,¹³ Augusta's county seat, would be chosen for this purpose."

West Augusta district was formed from Augusta county and in November, 1776, Ohio county was formed from West Augusta district. Also in the same month Yohogania

¹² History of Augusta County.

¹³ Howe, "At some future day it will probably become the seat of government."



CYCLOPEAN TOWERS IN AUGUSTA COUNTY.

county was formed from West Augusta district, but by the extension of the western boundary of Pennsylvania, the greater part fell within the limits of that state and the residue was by an act of 1785 added to Ohio County and Yohogania became extinct.¹⁴

In Augusta district lived Gabriel Jones, who being the only one of his profession for a long time, gave the name of the Lawyer's road to the highway over which he travelled to court. An instance of his influence is illustrated in a threat made by the presiding justice, of imprisonment of the opposing counsel if he did not quit teasing lawyer Jones into such exhibitions of furious profanity, at a court session.

Overlooking Staunton, are two high hills said to have been named Betsy Bell and Mary Gray, after similar hills in north Ireland. Another tradition was that these names came from an old Scotch-Irish song

"Betsy Bell and Mary Gray
They were 'twa bonnie lasses.
They built a house on yon bent brae
And theek'd it o'er with rashes." ¹⁵

In the county of Augusta are the great curiosities, known by the county people as "the chimneys" but better designated as *the Cyclopean Towers*;—seven summits, 60 or 70 feet in height, rising almost perpendicularly from the bed of a stream, which winding around their base, serves as a natural moat to a seemingly ruinous castle.¹⁶

In this county also is the natural wonder, Weyer's Cave, discovered in 1804 and named for its discoverer.

Rockbridge county, formed partly from Augusta, and named for its great curiosity, the natural bridge, possesses

¹⁴ Hening.

¹⁵ History of Augusta County.

¹⁶ Cited by Howe, p. 181.



MARTIN'S LOCK NEAR BALCONY FALLS.

much beautiful mountain and river scenery: one of the most interesting localities is Balcony Falls where the mountains of the Blue Ridge rear their summits to great heights and the river forces its passage over a series of rocky beds, which give name to the spot. Along here wended the James river and Kanawha canal, conveying the traffic of its packets through the country; and Martin's lock served to dam the water up, for the passing of boats, at this spot.

The steam railway having taken the place of the old canal, few traces of the locks remain to recall the service of their opening and closing gates, which conduced not only to the purpose of carrying freight to its destination, but also to the transportation of travellers, whose dependence, otherwise, for locomotion, was upon stage-coaches. The advertisements of the schedules did not call attention to their *rapid transit*, but to the number of miles of staging shortened: one of these schedules reads "Through to the Virginia springs from Richmond in three days by James River Canal and the Natural Bridge. With sixty miles less staging than any other route. Fare through. Board on Boats included."

A county, formed because of "divers inconveniences attending the upper inhabitants of Goochland by reason of their great distance from the Court House and other places usually appointed for public meetings"—to take effect January, 1745—was named for Wm. Van Kippel, second Earl of Albemarle, then governor of Virginia. It was the first regularly organized county in James river valley and included the whole of Fluvanna, Buckingham, Nelson and Amherst, the most of Albemarle and Appomattox, with parts of Campbell, Bedford and Cumberland.¹⁷

¹⁷ Woods History of Albemarle county.

Of this county Joshua Fry was made surveyor and he and Peter Jefferson¹⁸ (father of Thomas) were among the justices: Jefferson was also long county-lieutenant of Albemarle. The two served as commissioners for defining the western limits of the Northern neck grant, by marking the line from the headsprings of the Potomac: also were commissioners from Virginia to continue the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina, which in 1728 had been run from the Atlantic to Peter's Creek by Col. Wm. Byrd and others: they also prepared the map bearing their names.¹⁹

Joshua Fry was born at Somersetshire, England and educated at Oxford; recorded as magistrate in Essex county, 1710; and professor of mathematics at William and Mary College: was appointed to command six companies of provincial troops raised for "the encouragement and protection of settlers on the waters of the Mississippi" in 1754, when Washington was made Lieutenant-Colonel under him. On the expedition Fry died suddenly at Wills' creek.

Culpeper county, named for Governor Culpeper (1680-83) was formed from Orange of territory originally embracing what was called the *Northern Neck*, (the domain of Lord Fairfax); Governor Culpeper was one of the original proprietors of this tract. The county covered all the debatable land between the crown and Lord Fairfax east of the Blue Ridge, a long time the subject of a controversy involving the title of several millions of acres of land. This Neck included the territory now comprising the counties of Lancaster, Northumberland, Richmond, Westmoreland,

¹⁸ Peter was the son of Thos. Jefferson, of Osbornes, in Chesterfield County, born 1708, married Jane, daughter of Isham Randolph, of "Dungeness", in Goochland.

¹⁹ Dinwiddie Papers.

Stafford, King George, Prince William, Fairfax, Loudon, Fauquier, Culpeper, Clarke, Madison, Page, Shenandoah, Hardy, Hampshire, Morgan, Berkeley, Jefferson, and Frederick.²⁰

Charles II. granted to the ancestors²¹ of Lord Fairfax, all lands lying between the head-waters of the Rappahannock and Potomac to the Chesapeake bay, a territory comprising about one quarter of the present limits of Virginia.

Agreeable to an act of the General Assembly at a session held in Williamsburg, February 22, 1759, the town of Fairfax, now Culpeper, was laid off on a high and pleasant situation on 27 acres of Robert Coleman's land: the plan being submitted to the county court in June 21, was ordered to be recorded. It received its name in honor of Lord Fairfax. (Green's "Notes on Culpeper.")

Lunenburg's county seat, New London,²² was, at the formation of Bedford, 1753, incorporated in that new county: under the old district system, the Superior court was held there.

In November, 1761, Colonel William Callaway, county-lieutenant, made a free gift of 100 acres of land for a town adjoining the court house, which at the time of the Revolution had grown to be a place of considerable importance. The Marquis de Chastellux writes of it that "it possessed at least seventy or eighty houses." It contained an arsenal, a

²⁰ Kercheval's History of the Valley.

²¹ In the first year after the death of his father, Charles II. (considered as then reigning), granted all the tract of land lying between the Rappahannock and the Potomac to Lord Hopton, the Earl of St. Albans, Lord Culpeper and others, to hold the same forever, paying yearly £6. 13. 4. to the crown.—Campbell, p. 248.

²² New London was established in the 22d year of George II's reign. In 1761 at a meeting of the Bedford County Court it was ordered "that the trustees of the *new* New London town set the back land belonging to the same in such parcels as they shall think most for advantage of the country giving previous notice of such sale to the highest bidders."

long wooden structure, which was moved to Harper's Ferry. There was also a long building used as a magazine in the war, which was under the guard of soldiers. In July Cornwallis despatched Tarleton to this place for the purpose of destroying stores and intercepting some light troops reported to be on their march to join Lafayette: but neither stores nor troops were found.²³

The old Court House remained an interesting relic of a prosperous era. Here Patrick Henry delivered his speech on the celebrated Johnny Hook case.

An instrument often found among the county records of the times after the Revolution was the *Power of Attorney* created by an act entitled "An act to enable persons living in other countries to dispose of their estates in this commonwealth with more ease and convenience;" indicating that as the population increased and the country became better known many of the people were emigrating into newer and richer territory.

A Mss Memorandum, by John Stuart of Greenbrier County written July 15, 1798, and giving a description of the settling of that western territory, is preserved as a treasure-trove, among the archives of the county. The following is a somewhat abbreviated copy: "The inhabitants of every country are desirous to enquire after the first founders and in order to gratify the curious who may hereafter incline to be informed of the origin of the settlement made in Greenbrier, I leave this Memorandum for their satisfaction, being the only person alive acquainted with the circumstances of its discovery.

"Born in Augusta county and the particulars often related to me by the first adventurers, I can relate with certainty

²³ Howe.

that our river was first discovered in 1749. Jacob Marlin is supposed to be the first person reporting of it: he and one Stephen Suiel (Sewel) were the first settlers at the mouth of Knap's creek above what is now called *the little levels* on land still bearing the name Marlin.



PEAKS OF OTTER,²⁴ BEDFORD COUNTY.

"These two men lived there in a hermitage, having no families; but differing in sentiment, which ended in rage. Marlin kept the cabin, whilst Suiel took up his abode in the trunk of a large tree and thus living more independent, their animosities would abate and sociability ensued" (to the extent, it is reported, of exchanging morning and evening salutations).

²⁴ The Blue Ridge towers to its greatest height in the Peaks of Otter, in Bedford county.

"Later the country was explored by Gen. Andrew Lewis, a famous woodsman, on whose report Council granted 100,000 acres in Greenbrier to the Hon. John Robinson, (Treasurer of Va.) & Co., to the number of twelve persons including old Colonel John Lewis, and his two sons, William and Charles.

"But the war breaking out between England and France in 1755, all who were settled on Greenbrier were obliged to retreat to older settlements for safety, amongst whom was Marlin: Suiei fell a sacrifice to the enemy.

"The war ending 1761, people again settled in Greenbrier, amongst whom was Archibald Clendennin, whose residence was on lands—now claimed by John Davis, (by virtue of an intermarriage with his Daughter)—lying two miles west of Lewisburg.

"The Indians again breaking out in 1763, came up the Kanawha in a large body, sixty in number, and coming to the house of Freddy Sea on Muddy Creek, were kindly entertained by him and Felty Yolcom (Holcomb); not suspecting their design, they and their families with many others were killed or made prisoners, not any one escaping except Conrad Yolcom, who doubting the design of the Indians took his horse out under pretence of hobbleing him at some distance; mounting him, rode as far as the Court House now stands and there beginning to ruminate whether he might not be mistaken concluded to return, but just as he came to Clendennin's fence, the Indians presented their guns at him, missing fire. He fled to Jackson's river, the savages pursuing untill they went on Carr's Creek, now in Rockbridge county.

"So much were people intimidated by attacks from Indians they were suffered often to retreat with more prisoners, than there were Indians in the party.

"Greenbrier was thus once more depopulated for six years. Peace being concluded in 1765 with the Indians, and the lands in the western waters with certain boundaries being purchased at a treaty at Fort Stanwix by Andrew Lewis and Thomas Walker, Comm'rs appointed by government, the people returned to the county in 1769, when I returned with Mr. Robert McClanahan.

"Our design was to encourage settlement but the Indians again breaking out in 1774, Col. Andrew Lewis was ordered by Gov. Dunmore to march against them with 5,000 militia, which went from Camp Union, now Lewisburg, September 11, 1774; two companies being raised in Greenbrier by myself and Captain McClanahan.

"We were met by the Indians on October 10th, at the mouth of Kanawha and a very obstinate engagement ensued: though with the loss of 75 officers and soldiers, we defeated the Indians. Amongst the slain were Col. Charles Lewis of the Augusta Militia and Captain Robert McClanahan. Col. Andrew Lewis pursued his victory across the OHio untill in sight of some Indian towns on the waters of the Siota, where we met the Earl of Dunmore, who commanded an army in person and had made his rout by Fort Pitt. The Gov'r capitulating with the Indians, Lewis was ordered to retreat. I have since been informed by Col. Lewis, that the King's governor, Dunmore, knew of the attack to be made upon us at the mouth of the Kanawha and hoped our destruction. (This secret was communicated by indisputable authority.)

"A county was granted to the people of Greenbrier in 1778 and a court was held at my house on the 3d Tuesday of May. We were again invaded by the Indians, who had taken part with the British. On the 28th of May two hun-

dred Indians attacked Col. Andrew Donnelly's house, about 8 miles from Lewisburg. They were pursued from the mouth of Kanawha by 2 scouts from that garrison, Phil Hammon and John Prior, who gave intelligence of their approach.

"Col. Donnelly collected about 20 men and was joined by 60 more from Lewisburg, I being of this number. We got into the house unhurt, being favored by a field of rye which grew close to the house, while the Indians were on the opposite side.

"This was the last time the Indians invaded Greenbrier in any large body; four of our men were killed before we got into the house and sixteen of the Indians lay dead in the yard.

"Peace being declared with the British, in 1781 the people began to make efforts to regulate their matters; opening roads, for passes through the Mountains had been considered impracticable, no waggon having ever approached nearer than the Warm Springs.

"The Assembly granted a law empowering the Court to levy a certain sum for the purpose of opening a road from the Court House to the Warm Springs, necessary for the importation of salt and other necessities as well as conveying our hemp and heavy wares to market, but this laudable measure was opposed and a suspension of the law was made for two years.

"The following year Col. Thomas Adams visited the country and had the suspension repealed by which means a waggon road was opened and way made for another to the Sweet Springs.

"The Assembly taking our remote situation again under consideration graciously granted £5,000 of our arrears to be

applied to opening a road from Lewisburg to the Kanawha river. This was completed in two months' time in 1786, and this communication by waggons will probably be found the highest and best from the east to the west that will ever be known.

"Nature has designed this peaceable retreat for some of her favorite children, where pure morals will be preserved, by separating them from societys at so respectful a distance, by ridges of mountains. From the springs of salt water along our river banks, iron-mines pregnant with salt-petre and forests of sugar trees, the future inhabitants will surely avail themselves of such singular advantages for their comfort and satisfaction.

"Lewisburg was settled by Capt. Matthew Arbuckle, the town being laid off in 1780 and named in honor of the Lewis family, who held a large claim in the Greenbrier grant. Arbuckle, distinguished for bravery in the battle of Point Pleasant, was killed by the falling of a tree in a branch leading from the turns of the waters of Anthony's creek to Jackson's river."²⁴

The town of Lewisburg stands on the site of the old Savannah Fort (named from its situation on a kind of prairie) where General Lewis rendezvoused his army in 1774, previous to the battle of Point Pleasant. The first church built in 1795 was of stone, and erected for the Presbyterians, is still in use, and surrounded by an old church-yard, containing many interesting old monuments.

The originator of Lynch Law, was a native of Campbell County. This term which was first used during the Revolutionary period, under very peculiar circumstances, has become diffused over the globe, being now used as a synonym for lawless violence.

²⁴ Greenbrier Court papers. Mss.

Col. Charles Lynch, son of the founder of Lynchburg, was an officer in the American Revolution. His residence was on Staunton river, a branch of the Roanoke, that ran through the plantation of John Randolph of Roanoke. During the war the country on James river and on the Roanoke, above the Blue Ridge and mountain passes, was harassed by a lawless band of Tories and desperadoes, their depredations extending through what was then the large county of Bedford. At that time the country was very thinly settled and the seat of government at Williamsburg very far distant, with British troops between.

It was a desperate condition requiring an immediate and desperate remedy. Colonel Lynch organized and led a band of sturdy patriots, men of the highest moral character, good social standing and greatest influence in the community.

They scoured the country, till they had arrested the malefactors; then gave them a trial, at which Colonel Lynch sat as a judge, empannelled a jury and, upon conviction, executed judgment. The offenders were allowed to defend themselves, show mitigating circumstances and, when punished, to leave the community. They were not punished except under positive and circumstantial proof, sufficient to produce conviction of guilt in an honest and candid mind.²⁵

In 1780 Col. Charles Lynch, Col. James Callaway, Col. William Preston and Capt. Robert Adams, and other loyal citizens in Bedford County took such active and efficient steps in suppressing "divers evil-disposed persons who had formed a conspiracy to levy war against this commonwealth" that the Legislature taking the matter into con-

²⁵ Grigsby.

sideration "Whereas the measures taken may not strictly be warranted by law, although justifiable from the imminence of danger" passed an act "indemnifying and exonerating them from all pains, penalties, etc."²⁶

The Conspirators, who were largely Tories, were tried before a sort of drum-head court martial. After relieving the country of the Tories, thieves and murderers, who were terrorizing the whole section, Colonel Lynch raised a regiment of riflemen and conducted himself with great gallantry, especially at the battle of Guilford Court House. He died soon after the war.



RUINS OF TRINITY CHURCH, NORBORNE PARISH,

The first Jefferson county being incorporated into the state of Kentucky, a second was formed in 1801 from Berkeley, the Potomac forming its north-eastern boundary; the Shenandoah flowing through it enters the Potomac at Harper's Ferry. It was settled principally by families from the eastern part of the state.

James Rumsay removed to Shepherdstown in this county from Maryland, and here he constructed and navigated the first steamboat. His boat was called by the towns people

²⁶ Brown.

"the flying-boat" and he "Crazy Rumsay." In October, 1784, he obtained passage of an act guaranteeing to him the exclusive use of his invention in the waters of the state for ten years: and two years later he gave a public trial of his boat, which proved eminently successful.²⁷

Charlestown, the county seat, established 1786, was named for Charles Washington, an early settler, and brother of George Washington.

In an open field, near this town, stand the ruins of an ancient church, known as Trinity Church, Norborne Parish; the church yard monuments are gone and its age is uncertain, but wild vines picturesquely cover the crumbling walls.²⁸

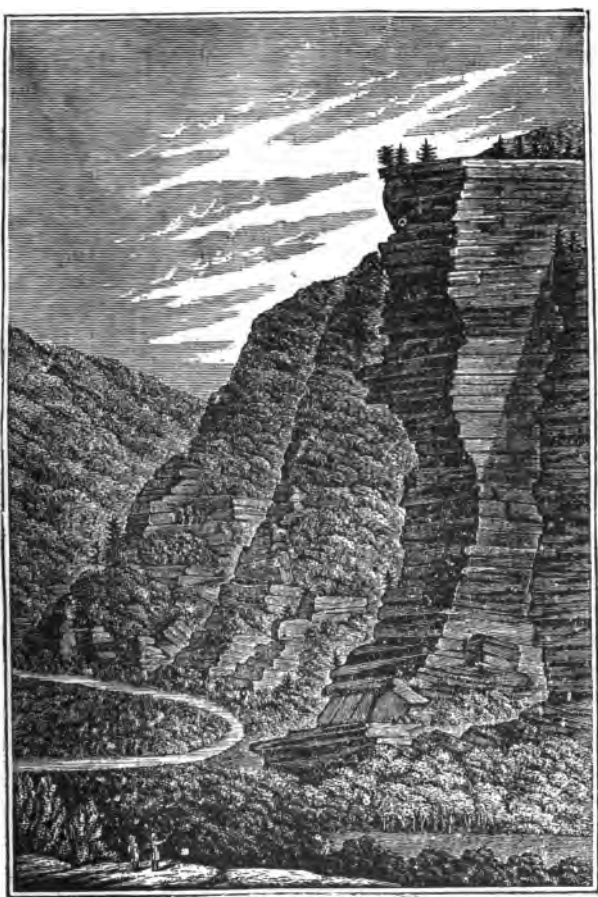


KANAWHA SALT WORKS.

Gauley and New rivers unite to form the Kanawha which runs along the eastern border of the county formed, 1789, and bears the name of the river. This "*river of the woods*"

²⁷ Henning's Statutes, Vol. II, p. 502.

²⁸ Howe, p. 342.



MARSHALL'S PILLAR IN FAYETTE COUNTY.

receives in its passage, the Elk, Pocatalico (Indian for "plenty of fat doe") and Coal rivers and, flowing through the county, empties into the Ohio at Point Pleasant.

Kanawha Salines, known as Terra Salis, receives its name from the salt works, which extend 15 miles on both sides the river. The discovery of salt here was through a buffalo lick and the first well was sunk in 1809. There are indications that the Indians were acquainted with and made use of the salt water: broken potteries, evidently from vessels used for evaporation of salt water, are found in great abundance in the neighborhood and there are traces of their carvings upon the rocks near. From the elaborate sculpturing of animals and birds on one of these, it was called pictured or calico rock.

In 1843 gas wells were discovered, something new in the history of the world; for there is no record of a fountain of strong brine, mingled with a fountain of inflammable gas sufficient to pump out in a constant stream and then by combustion to evaporate the whole into the best quality of salt.²⁹

In a county created in 1809 from Kanawha, and named for Governor Cabell, was found traces of a regular compact and populous city with streets, running parallel with the Ohio river and crossing and intersecting each other at right angles, covering the space of nearly half a mile, as well as the superficial dimensions of many of the houses, apparent and well-defined. The portion of land in which these vestiges were first seen, was given the name, *Green Bottom* and lies partly in Cabell and partly in Mason. Axes and saws of unique form, of iron and copper, as well as other mechanical implements were discovered, betokening a state

²⁹ Howe, Antiquities.

of comparative civilization in the race which fashioned them. Who they were or whence sprung, tradition has lost in the lapse of years.

Fayette county, adjoining Kanawha, possesses the natural wonder, Marshall's Pillar, (known to the country people as *Hawk's Nest*;) under the projecting stone strata of which, tall forest trees are concealed from the view of the observer, who endeavors to peer from the dizzy heights above into the mysteries of the depths below.



MAMMOTH MOUND

In Marshall county, formed in 1835 from Ohio county, was discovered one of the mounds,—supposed to have been erected by an ancient race,—many of which are scattered over the continent. From its size,—69 feet high, 900 feet in circumference at its base and 50 feet in diameter at its flat top,—it was called Mammoth mound. Some years

since an oak standing on the top, about 70 feet high, appeared to die of age, which upon the transverse cutting of the trunk, was estimated to be 500 years old.

In the interior of the mound were found vaults, timber, human skeletons, ivory beads and other ornaments, sea-shells, copper bracelets around the wrists of skeletons, etc.

This mound is on Grave creek, a quarter of a mile from the Ohio river, in full view of passing steamers.

In 1837 Mr. Tomlinson erected an observatory on its summit and published a description of it in the *American Pioneer*, having made a complete examination of it by excavations.

The result of other researches proved that this mound was one of a series, seven within a short distance of each other, which appeared to have been connected by low earthen intrenchments.

Mammoth mound, situated on a level, commands such a view of the plain that any transaction near, would be visible to multitudes around it. A stone inscribed with hieroglyphic characters suggested to antiquarians the possibility of African origin.³⁰

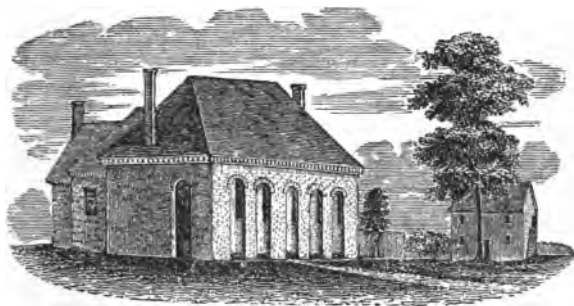
³⁰ Campbell, p. 86. Howe, 370-1.

CHAPTER XXVI.

STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY.

"One of the best safeguards of public liberty is a frequent recurrence to first principles."

"Speculative reasoners during that age raised many objections to the planting of those remote colonies and foretold that after draining their mother country of inhabitants they would soon shake off her yoke and erect an independent government in America: but time has shewn that the views entertained by those who encouraged such generous undertakings were more just and solid."¹



HANOVER COURTHOUSE

Where Henry Delivered His Famous Speech on the Parson's Cause.

Until 1764 England had seemed content with the appointment of Virginia's principal officers, and the monopoly of her trade. In this year motions were discussed which passed into resolutions in 1765, imposing a stamp duty,

¹ Hume, History of England. 1754.



HENRY PROCLAIMING "LIBERTY OR DEATH."

causing disputes between the colonies and the mother country, which finally terminated in the Revolution.

In opposing the stamp act Virginia led the way, through the protests of Patrick Henry, who then (30th of May, 1765) filled a seat in the Assembly vacated in his favor by one of the representatives from Louisa county.

Henry's genius first displayed itself in the contest between the clergy and the people of Virginia. His second brilliant display was on a contested election case. In 1765 he prepared, and was instrumental in passing through the house of Burgesses, a series of four resolutions against the stamp act and the scheme of taxing America by the British Parliament. From this period he became the idol of the people and his influence was felt throughout the continent as a champion of civil liberty.²

Desiring to add weight to the acts of their representatives, counties were soon voicing their sense of injustice, and the first to make itself heard was Culpeper, on Monday October 21st, 1765, the address, from which county, is recorded in the clerk's office (Deed book E. p. 138, attested by Roger Dixon, the first clerk of the county) and is as follows:

"At a court held for the county of Culpeper, Virginia, the 16 justices of the Peace, drew up and signed a protest against the imposition of the stamp act, directed to the honorable Francis Fauquier,³ Esq., his Majesty's Lieut-

² Collins' Historical Sketches.

³ In the *Virginia Gazette* of March 3rd, 1768, there is the notice: W'msburg. Early this morning died at the palace, after a tedious illness, which he bore with the greatest patience and fortitude, the Hon. Francis Fauquier, Esq., Lieut. Gov. and Comm'dr in chief of the colony, over which he has presided near ten years, much to his own honor and ease and satisfaction of the inhabitants. He was a gentleman of the most amiable disposition, generous, just and mild, and possessed in an eminent degree all of the social virtues. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and died in his 65 year." He was buried in the north aisle of the church.—Howe.

It is said that Jefferson considered Fauquier the ablest of Virginia's governors.

governor and Comm'dr-in-chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, the humble address, etc.

"S I R: At a time when his Majesty's subjects in America are so universally alarmed on account of the late proceedings of the British Parliament and the enemies of America employed in representing its colonies in an odious light to our most gracious Sovereign and his Ministers, by the most ungenerous interpretation of our behavior, we beg leave to take this method to assure your Honor of our inviolable attachment to and affection for the sacred person of his Majesty and the whole royal family. And from your Honor's well-known candor and benevolent disposition we are persuaded that we shall at the same time be permitted to lay before your Honor those reasons which have determined us to resign the commission of the Peace under which we have been sworn to act as Magistrates in this country. It seems to be the *unanimous opinion* of the people of America (and of a few in England) that the late acts of Parliament by which a stamp duty is imposed on the Americans and a court of vice-Admiralty appointed ultimately to determine all controversies which may arise concerning the execution of sd act, is unconstitutional and a high infringement of our most valuable privileges as British subjects, who, we humbly apprehend, cannot constitutionally be taxed without the consent of our representatives or our lives or properties be affected in any suit or criminal cause, whatsoever without first being tried by our peers.

"And as the execution of the sd act does in some measure depend on the County courts, we cannot, if consistent with the duty which we owe our country, be in the smallest degree instrumental in enforcing a law which conceives as in itself, shaking at the very foundation of our liberties, and

if carried into execution, must render our posterity unhappy and ourselves contemptible in the opinion of all men who are the least acquainted with a British constitution, as we shall in that case no longer be free but merely the property of those whom we formerly looked upon as our fellow subjects. Permit us, Sir, to add that we still hope his Majesty and Parliament will change our measure and suffer us to enjoy our privileges and if we should incur the displeasure, to assert our rights, we should look upon it as one of the greatest misfortunes which could befall us.

"We do heartily wish his Majesty a long and happy reign over us and that there may never be wanting a Prince of the illustrious House of Hanover to succeed him in his dominions, that yr Honor may continue to enjoy the favor of our sovereign, long govern the people of this ancient and loyal colony and that the people may again be happy under your mild and gentle administration, as they formerly have been, is what we most devoutly pray for. Signed, etc. . . ."

The Westmoreland Declaration,⁴ after an interval of four months, followed Culpeper's and was as follows. "Roused by danger and alarmed at attempts, foreign and domestic, to reduce the people of this country to a state of abject and detestable slavery by destroying that free and happy constitution of government under which they have hitherto lived; We, who subscribe this paper, have associated and do bind ourselves to each other, to God, and to our country by the firmest ties that religion and virtue can frame, most sacredly and punctually to stand by and with our lives and fortunes to support, maintain and defend each other in the observance and execution of these following articles.

⁴ Virginia Historical Register, Vol. II, p. 14.

"I. We declare all due allegiance and obedience to our lawful Sovereign * * * * *

"II. As we know it to be the birthright privilege of every British subject founded on reason, that he cannot be tried but by his peers and we will go any extremity to prevent such attempts and punish the offender * * * * *

"III. As the Stamp Act does direct the property of the people to be taken from them, we will exert every faculty to prevent the execution of the said act * * * * *

"IV. That the last act may surely be executed we engage that immediate notice shall be given and every individual shall repair to a place of meeting * * * * *

"V. Each Associator to obtain as many names as possible.

"VI. If attempt be made on the liberty of any Associator, we bind ourselves to restore such Associator and to protect him.

"In testimony of the good faith with which we resolve to execute this association we have this February 27th, 1766, put our hands and seals thereto. Signed etc * * * "

A few months after the death of Fauquier, Lord Botetourt arrived (in Oct'r, 1768) as governor of the colony; the notice of which is given in the Virginia Gazette of that date:—"Last Tuesday evening arrived in Hampton Roads, in 8 weeks from Portsmouth, the Rippon man of war, of 60 guns, Sam'l Thompson, Esq., Comd'r, having on board his Excellency, the Right Hon. N. B., Baron de Botetourt, his majesty's Lieut. and Gov-General of this Colony and Dominion.

"Next morning his Excellency landed at *Little England* and was saluted with a discharge of cannon there. After tarrying a few hours and taking a repast, he set out about noon for this city, arriving about sunset.

"His Excellency stopped at the Capitol and was received at the gate by his Majesty's Council, the Hon. the Speaker, the Att'y-Gen'l, the Treasurer and many other gentlemen of distinction, after which, being conducted to the Council Chamber and having his commissions read, was qualified to exercise his high office by taking the usual oaths. He then swore in the members of the Council after which he proceeded to the Raleigh Tavern and supped there."

"His Excellency retired about ten and took up his lodgings at the palace which had been put in order for his reception. Immediately upon his arrival the city was illuminated and all ranks vied with each other in testifying their gratitude that a Nobleman of such distinguished merit and abilities is appointed to preside over and live among them."⁵

There was erected in 1774 at the expense of the colony, a statue of Lord Botetourt,—at first fronting the old Capitol, but moved to the College in 1797—and bearing the inscription: "The Right Hon. Norborne Berkeley, Baron de Botetourt, his Majesty's late Lieut. and Gov. Gen. of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia." "Deeply impressed with the warmest sense of gratitude for his Excellency's prudent and wise administration and that the remembrance of those many public and social virtues which so eminently adorned his illustrious character might be transmitted to posterity, the Gen. Ass. of Virginia on the XX day of July Ann. Dom. MDCCLXXI, resolved with united voice to erect this statue to his Lordship's memory. Let wisdom and justice preside in any country, the people must and will be happy."

Left side.—"America, behold your friend, who leaving his native country, declined those additional honors which

⁵ Howe, 326, citing *Virginia Gazette*.

were there in store for him that he might heal your wounds and restore tranquility and happiness to this extensive continent. With what zeal and anxiety he pursued, those glorious objects, Virginia thus bears her grateful testimony".⁶

In 1770 an association⁷ of his Majesty's *most dutiful* and *loyal subjects* met together in Williamsburg to declare their inviolable and unshaken fidelity and attachment to their gracious sovereign; and their affection for their fellow subjects of Great Britain; their firm determination to support at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, the laws, peace, and good order of the government. *At the same time* affected with apprehensions of the consequences from the arbitrary impositions of taxes on the people in America, they resolved "That a committee of five be chosen in every county to assist the association (formed for the protection of American interests) to prevent the importation of prohibited articles."

The Association test read "At the risk of our Lives and Fortunes with Arms to oppose the Hostile Proceedings of the British Fleets and Armies against the United American Colonies."

Article third, of the Enumerated Articles, prohibited "Spirits, Cider, perry, beer, ale, porter, malt, pease, beef, fish, tallow, butter, cheese, candles, fruit, pickles, confectionary, chairs, tables, looking-glasses, carriages, joiners work, and cabinet work of all sorts, riband, *India* goods of all sorts, (except spices) calico of more than 3 sh. sterling per yard, upholstery (by which is meant paper-hangings, beds, ready-made furniture for beds and carpeting) watches, clocks, silversmiths' work of all sorts, silks of all sorts, (ex-

⁶ Virginia Gazette.

Virginia Historical Register.

cept women's bonnets and hats, sewing silk and netting silk) cotton stuffs of more than 3 sh. sterling per yard; linens of more than 2 sh. sterling per yd, (except Irish linens) gauze, lawns, cambric of more than 6 sh. ster. per yd, woollen and worsted stuffs of all sorts, of more than 2 sh. ster. pr. yd, narrow cloths of more than 4 sh. ster. pr. yd, not less than $\frac{7}{8}$ yd. wide, hats of greater value than 10 sh. ster. stockings of more than 36 sh. sterling per dozen: shoes of more than 5 sh. ster. per pair, boots, saddles, men's exceeding 25 sh. and women's exceeding 40 sh. exclusive of bridles which are allowed, portmanteaus, saddle-bags and all other manufactured leather, neither oil nor painter's colors, if both or either of them be subject to any duty after the first of December next.

Article fourth. "We will not import any horses, nor purchase any imported.

Article fifth. "We will not import any *slaves* or cause any to be imported or make sale of any after the first day of November next.

Article sixth. "We will not import any wines after September first next.

Ninthly. "We will direct and request our correspondents not to ship us any of the articles before excepted.

Eleventhly. "We will not make any advance in price upon goods already in hand with a view to profit by restrictions hereby laid on the trade of this colony. Having recorded a Twelfth and lastly these Associators signed their names thereto in W'msburg 22d of June, 1770. Then the whole Company preceded by the Moderator and Chairman of Trade, walked in procession from the Capitol to the Raleigh tavern,* where these loyal toasts were drank: "The

* The Raleigh tavern had over its portico a bust of Sir Walter Raleigh.

King;" "The Queen and Royal Family;" "The Governor of Virginia;" "The Speaker of the House of Burgesses;" "The Moderator and all patriotic Associators;" "The Chairman;" "British Liberty in America;" "Daniel Dulaney, Esq.;" "The Pennsylvania Farmer;" "The Duke of Richmond;" "Lord Chatham;" "Lord Camden;" "Lord Shelburne;" "The worthy British Merchants who joined in the Petitions to Parliament for redress of American Grievances." "May the efforts of Virginia, joined with her sister colonies in the cause of Liberty be crowned with success." "May the Rose flourish, the Thistle grow and the Harp be tuned to the cause of American liberty."

"The House of Burgesses, which had led the opposition to the stamp act kept their ground during the whole of the ensuing contest. The session of 1768-9 was marked by resolutions so strong as to excite the popular and amiable Botetourt to displeasure: these resolutions reasserted the exclusive right of the colony to tax themselves in all matters. The governor felt called upon to dissolve the house, but later they were reelected without an exception, and this house on March 12, 1773, originated corresponding committees, between the legislatures of the different colonies, the measure being introduced by Dabney Carr, a new member from Louisa County, in a committee of the whole house⁹.

The resolution was for the appointing of Inter-Colonial Committees of Correspondence in resistance to British encroachments, who were to enquire into the various violations of their constitutional rights by the Ministry: "Whereas, the affairs of this colony are frequently connected with those of Great Britain, as well as the neighboring col-

⁹ Wirt. Life of Henry, 107.

onies, which renders a communication of sentiments necessary, in order to remove the uneasiness and to quiet the minds of the people, as well as for other good purposes:— Be it resolved, that a standing committee of correspondence and inquiry be appointed, to consist of eleven persons, to wit: Peyton Randolph, Robert C. Nicholas, Richard Bland, Rd. H. Lee, Benj. Harrison, Edm. Pendleton, Patrick Henry, Dudley Digges, Dabney Carr, Archibald Cary and Thos. Jefferson.

In supporting these resolutions, Mr. Carr made his debut and a noble one it is said to have been. The House hailed with delight this new champion, considered by far the most formidable rival in forensic eloquence that Henry had to encounter. He had the advantage of a person at once dignified and engaging and the manner and action of an accomplished gentleman. Carr came of distinguished ancestry; one member a subscriber to James I's patent was knighted 1603, another in 1607. Governor Page wrote of Carr

"His virtues count, and short as was his span
He died at twenty-eight, a good old man."

Carr died in Charlottesville May 16th, 1773, aged 29 yrs.—two months from the time of his appearance in the House of Burgesses.¹⁰

A second Declaration was made by Culpeper County on Thursday July 7th, 1774, at a meeting of freeholders and other inhabitants assembled at due notice at the Court-house of Culpeper to consider of the most effective methods to preserve the rights and liberties of America, Henry Pendleton, Esq., being Moderator; when the following resolutions were adopted. "Resolved,

¹⁰ Wirt. Life of Henry, 107

"That we will maintain and defend his Majesty's title to the crown of his Dominions; to whose royal person we profess due fidelity.....:

"That the right to impose taxes is an arbitrary exercise of power.....

"That the act of Parliament is evidently designed to fix on the Americans those chains forged for them by a corrupt ministry.....

"That the late unjust act, executed upon our sister colony of Massachusetts is a convincing proof of corrupt influence and fixed determination to deprive the colonies of rights and liberties.....

"That Boston is suffering in a common cause.

"That an association not to import certain commodities from England be entered into and not dissolved till our rights are restored.....

"That no friend to the liberties of America ought to purchase anything after the Ass'n be formed, except those articles excepted.....

"That every kind of luxury be abolished.....

"That the importing of slaves is injurious to the colony..

"That every county appoint deputies to meet in Wm'sburg to consult upon proper means for carrying expedient resolutions."

"The county committees recommended by the Convention of August, 1774, were soon chosen in each county; they met at varying dates and their proceedings became increasingly important. They were the *nurseries* of the Revolution, each county being presided over by a chairman resident in the county. For nearly two years the colony was really governed by them and the destinies of the State were virtually in their hands. Composed of the most

discreet and able men, the landed gentry prominent in church and state, they sacrificed their interests to their country's cause and proved themselves true patriots. A paper with the following resolution, which passed unanimously February 29th, 1776, was read "That it be recommended to the Inhabitants of this (Cumberland) county in particular, and the colony in general, that all distinction of colonies and counties be laid aside; that there be no other name known among them than that of Americans and that every man, who will heartily join in this common and ever glorious struggle for Liberty be considered and treated as an American born." Members of these committees in addresses "entreated by that Regard you have for the safety of your own persons; for your Liberties, civil and religious, for every thing which can render yr Being on Earth happy, for what is of more consideration—the Happiness of yr Posterity for endless Ages to come, under sanction of that confidence you repose in us—that without delay you take up arms, put them in the best condition, get acquainted with military Discipline and stand in readiness for actual service upon the first sound of the Trumpet of War."

On February 5th, Thomas Miller, clerk, directed to purchase patriotic literature for the use of the country, reported that he had secured of Dixon and Hunter, sundry speeches of the bishop of St. Asaph and pamphlets of one "Sharp" and "that agreeable to the Resolution of this committee he had encouraged the reprinting of the speech of Edm'd. Burke, Esq., on the American Question."

Little was done by the county committees after the reorganization of the county courts in August of 1776, and after the adjournment of the General Assembly in December

21st, 1776, they were generally dissolved. The Court of the county; the Court Martial of Field Officers and Captains taking by the Constitution and Frame of Government, the Business in their Hands formerly belonging to the County Committees."¹¹

Among the Acts of the Assembly there is one of December 1st providing for additional forces. "Whereas the Earl of Dunmore by his many hostile attacks upon the good people of this colony and attempts to infringe their rights and liberties by his proclamation declaring freedom to our servants and slaves and arming them against us by seizing our persons and properties and declaring those who opposed such, his arbitrary measures in a state of rebellion, hath made it necessary that an additional number of forces be raised for our protection and defense, Be it enacted, that the same," etc.

The most emphatic declaration of independence came from Fredericksburg, upon the Rappahannock river at the head of tide-water, commanding for many years the trade of the opulent planters of all that fertile region lying along the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers from the Blue Ridge mountains to the Chesapeake bay, a region as rich as the Northern Neck and the Piedmont country.

For more than a century prior to the Revolution sturdy people were often engaged in active war with the great Indian nation once ruled by king Powhatan. In the rebellion of Nathaniel Bacon against Sir William Berkeley, several thousand horsemen marched under his command to assert those principles of popular rights, which were proclaimed and established in 1776.

¹¹ Alex. Brown.

Many of these soldiers were from Fredericksburg and its vicinity and it was inevitable that the descendants of those men should be first to arm themselves against the encroachments of the British crown. In April, 1775, over 600 people of the upper country armed themselves and assembled at Fredericksburg. By the advise of Randolph and Pendleton they abstained from "present hostilities" until Congress should decide upon some general plan of resistance. They held a council which by a majority of one concluded to follow this advice.¹²

Twenty-one days before the famous Declaration of Mecklenburg, a convention in Fredericksburg of delegates of twelve companies of horse, assembled and proclaiming their purpose to defend the colony of Virginia, or any other colony, against the king of England, marched under the command of Patrick Henry against Lord Dunmore in his capital.

John Tyler, (son of the marshal for the Colony of the same name) became so decided an opponent of the tyrannical pretensions of the mother country that his father often predicted that sooner or later he would be executed for high treason. Forming the acquaintance of the ardent Jefferson, his society fanned the flame of Tyler's patriotism. Successful in the practice of law this young patriot, was elected a delegate from Charles City, succeeding Benjamin Harrison, Jr., of Berkeley, as speaker of the house of Burgesses. While a member of the Assembly, Tyler contracted an intimate friendship with Patrick Henry, for whom he entertained an almost idolizing veneration. In subsequent years he was governor of Virginia and Judge of the United States District Court. His son of the same name became President of the Union.

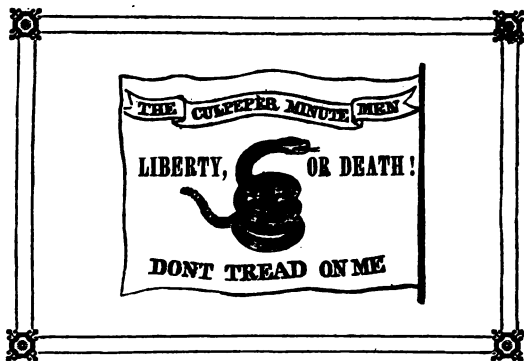
¹² D. H. Maury, "The Virginians."

Independence was not sought in the beginning of troubles. Virginia's intimate connexion with England caused a feeling of pride in the power and glory of the mother country. A spirit of loyalty still influenced the colonists in addressing that mother in tones of respect and supplication. At the close of the convention of July, 1775, that body published a "Declaration" to the people concluding with the explicit statement of their views. "Lest our views and designs should be misrepresented or misunderstood, we again and for all, publicly and solemnly declare, before God and the world, that we do bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty George the Third, our only lawful and rightful king; that we will, so long as it may be in our power, defend him and his government as founded on the laws and well known principles of the Constitution; that we will to the utmost of our power, preserve peace and order, throughout the country; and endeavor by every honourable means to promote a restoration of that friendship and amity which so long and happily subsisted between our fellow subjects in Great Britain and the inhabitants of America; that as, on the one hand, we are determined to defend our lives and properties and maintain our just rights and privileges at every, even the extremest hazard, so, on the other, it is our fixed and unalterable resolution to disband such forces as may be raised in this Colony whenever our dangers are removed, and America is restored to that former state of tranquility and happiness, the interruption of which is so much deplored by us and every friend to either country."¹³

Among the troops rallying at the first call were Culpeper's gallant "Minute-Men," described as "Raised in a minute,

¹³ Grigsby, p. 7, Con. 1776.

armed in a minute, marched in a minute, fought in a minute and vanquished in a minute." (Randolph in the United States Senate.)



"On the breaking out of the war, Patrick Henry, Commander, sent to this section for assistance, 150 men from the county of Culpeper, 100 from the county of Orange, 100 from the county of Fauquier. The first minute men raised in Virginia was in the year 1775. The flag used by the Culpeper men, has a rattlesnake in the centre. The head of the snake was intended for Virginia and the twelve rattles for the other twelve states. The corps was dressed in green hunting shirts with the words "Liberty or Death" in large white letters on their bosoms. They wore in their hats buck tails and in their belts tomahawks or scalping knives. After their arrival at Williamsburg those armed with rifles marched into Norfolk county and engaged in the battle of Great Bridge. The motto on their flag was, "Don't tread on me." In the course of the war eight companies of 84 men each were formed in Culpeper county for continental service.¹⁴

¹⁴ Howe, p. 237.

The hunting shirt was a kind of loose frock, reaching half way down to the thighs,—with large sleeves,—open before, and so wide as to lap over a foot or more when belted.

The cape was large and sometimes handsomely fringed with a raveled piece of cloth of a different color from that of the hunting shirt, which was generally of lindsey or a coarse linen. The belt, which was always tied behind, answered several purposes beside that of holding the dress together: in cold weather the mittens and the bullet bag were attached to the front part of it: to the right side was suspended the tomahawk and to the left the scalping knife in its leathern sheath.

Hugh Mercer, (a refugee to America after the battle of Culloden) who had settled in Spotsylvania, espoused the colonial cause and in response to his offer to "serve his adopted country and the cause of liberty in any rank or station to which he might be assigned," received an appointment, by unanimous vote, to become Colonel of the third Virginia Regiment.

Among the troops at Williamsburg was a company of riflemen from beyond the mountains, commanded by Captain Gibson. Insubordination had gained for them the title of "Gibson's Lambs": a mutiny arising among them produced much excitement in the army and terrified the inhabitants of the city.

The alarming tidings were reported to Colonel Mercer, who, reckless of personal safety, repaired to the barracks and directing a general parade of troops, he ordered Gibson's company to be drawn up as offenders and violators of law and to be disarmed in his presence. The ringleaders were placed under a strong guard and before the whole

army, he addressed the offenders in a feeling manner, impressing on them their duties as citizen soldiers, and the certainty of death if they continued to disobey their officers and remained in the mutinous spirit, equally disgraceful to them and hazardous to the sacred interests they had marched to defend.

Disorder was instantly checked and after a short confinement, those under imprisonment were released and the whole company were ever after as exemplary in their deportment as any troops in the army.¹⁵

At its formation from Frederick, the county of Shenandoah was named Dunmore after the governor of the colony: but after his lordship had taken a decided stand against the colonists, one of the delegates from that county stated that his constituents no longer wished to live in, nor he to represent, a county bearing the name of such a tory; he therefore moved to call it after the beautiful stream passing through it, and by act of Assembly, October, 1777, the name was changed to Shenando or Shenandoah.

Settled by Germans, for a long while, their native language was universally spoken in the community. Of this nationality had been Peter Muhlenburg, a clergyman of the Lutheran church living in Woodstock. The commission of Colonel was given him in 1776, and he was requested to raise his regiment among the valley Germans. He entered the pulpit with his sword and cockade, and preached his farewell sermon; the next day he marched at the head of his troop, called the eighth or German Regiment, to join the army.

¹⁵ Howe, p. 481, citing So. Lit. Mess. April, 1838.

In 1777 Muhlenburg was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general: after the war he moved back to Pennsylvania, from which state he had removed, having gained distinction as a fine disciplinarian, and an excellent officer, esteemed and beloved by both officers and soldiers.¹⁶

The colors of his regiment was made of plain salmon-colored silk with a broad fringe of the same, having a simple white scroll in the center upon which were inscribed the words "VIII Virga. Reg:" the spear head considerably ornamented. This banner is still preserved, though bearing traces of service.

The infant navy responded to the demand for defensive force. In 1750 James Barron, Jr., was taken by Colonel Hunter, Navy Agent Victualler and sent to sea in charge of Captain Barrington, who sailed in a fine ship belonging to London, trading on James river: in a few voyages, Barron was promoted to be second mate of the ship. Before his apprenticeship expired he had command of the 'Kickotan,' a small vessel; and at the end of his minority he was made captain of a fine ship.

In 1774 Barron gave up his command to espouse the rebel cause. The State Government was among the foremost to look to warlike preparations by sea and land.

Before any of these vessels were put in commission, Captain Barron had commenced his military career as a captain of a Minute company, composed of young sailors of Hampton, and engaged in the action on the banks of James river to the west of Hampton creek. During the continuance of the war Commodore Barron was constantly employed, sometimes aboard the schooner 'Liberty;' at others cruising with small squadrons, when he had succeeded to the com-

¹⁶ Collins' Historical Sketches.



Richard Henry Lee

mand of the Virginia Navy on July 3, 1780; and also as a member of the Board of War, before the government was transferred to Richmond.

After the peace of 1783 he continued in command of the only two vessels retained in the service for the protection of the revenue, until the year 1787, when his death occurred.¹⁷

"The history of Virginia from the Meeting of the first House of Burgesses in the fall of 1776 to the close of the war is yet almost wholly unwritten. Glimpses, faint and casual of the state of parties may be seen in the text of Girardin and in his notes. A record from one cabinet and a rumour founded on the supposed contents of another, serve only to sharpen the general curiosity, not to satisfy it.

"Should the state of parties during the time specified ever be recorded with any fullness and by an impartial hand it will make one of the most unexpected and thrilling chapters in our annals: and *unless the effort be made ere long*, it will be lost to posterity.

"Of the men of the Revolution none has come down to us with more distinctness than Richard Henry Lee. . . . his action polished with such rare skill, his flowing eloquence, set off by the modulated tones of a sweet voice, his classic wit, his devotion to his country and the calm and ardent piety. . . . at the distance of two generations, we regard him with delight."¹⁸

Biography enthusiastically repeats Wirt's comparison of Lee to Cicero.

¹⁷ Virginia Historical Register, 1849.

¹⁸ Grigsby, Con. 1776.

"To Lee was committed the preparation of the most important papers of the times and these papers were approved in many instances without alteration or amendment and adopted. If we look at the number, adaptedness, accuracy, temperance, ease and elegance of the papers drawn by Lee, we know not where his superior among men of English race can be found, when, too, most of the papers were written upon the spur of the moment in a spirit of business.

"On the seventh of June, 1776, Lee introduced in Congress a resolution to the effect that these colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States and that all connection between us and Great Britain, is and ought to be, totally dissolved. He proposed this resolution in obedience to the instructions of the convention, and by his masterly eloquence sustained it. The following are his concluding words:

" 'Why, then, do we longer delay? Why still deliberate? Let this happy day give birth to our American republic. Let us arise, not to devastate and to conquer, but to re-establish the reign of peace and of law. If we are not this day wanting in our duty, the names of the American legislators of 1776 will be placed by posterity at the side of Theseus, Lycurgus and Romulus, of the three Williams of Nassau, and of all those whose memory has been and will be, dear to virtuous men and good citizens.' "

"Of all his eloquent speeches delivered on the most interesting topics in the course of a parliamentary career embracing more than the third of a century not a solitary specimen survived him."

"Born at Stratford on the Potomac, 1732, Lee was educated in England, returning before he was 20 yrs old:

as early as 1775 he was a member of the House of Burgesses; of the Conventions of July and December, 1775, and member of the committee of Safety; a member for Stafford in the Convention of 1776 and on the committee appointed to draft a declaration of rights and a plan of government. Under the constitution of the new government he was one of the 5 Revisors and one of the 5 judges of the General Court. In the midst of his useful career he fell a victim to disease, in his 62d year June. 1794, at Chantilly, Westmoreland county. "²⁰

On the 11th of June, in order to carry out the spirit and purpose of Lee's resolution, a committee was appointed, of which Thomas Jefferson was chairman, to draft a declaration of independence.

This resolution being the special order of the day was taken up in committee of the whole on the first of July, Benjamin Harrison in the chair. On the same day the report of the committee was submitted to the Congress, and went over for a day. On the second of July the Lee resolution was agreed to: discussion of it lasted two days longer. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 4th of July the adoption of the memorable report was announced; and soon the spell of its inspiration seized upon the people and the doom of British rule in the American colonies was sealed.

The first printed statement, of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence on the 4th of July by Congress,

²⁰ Hugh Blair Grigsby, author of "The Virginia Convention of 1776," a discourse delivered at William and Mary College and published by request in 1855, says the consideration which led him more into detail, than would have been otherwise necessary, was, that with the exception of a notice of Wythe, Nelson and Harrison, in a work called the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, Wirt's *Life of Henry* and Tucker's *Life of Jefferson*, there was (1855) no other biography of any member of the Convention of 1776. Not even Madison had a biographer. Footnote p. 132. Yet he refers to Lee's life by his grandson. Since his address appeared the Hon. Wm. C. Rives has written a life of Mr. Madison, (1860).

was made in the Virginia Gazette of July 19th; when a synopsis only of its contents was published. On July 25th the adoption of the Declaration was officially announced at Williamsburg. The document in full was first published on July 26th by an order of Council, and the sheriff of each county was enjoined to proclaim it at the door of his courthouse "on the first court day after he shall have received it." The order was signed by Archibald Blair as clerk of the Council.

It is probable that the passage of the Declaration was known as early as the 10th or 12th through private letters.

The Virginia Assembly met the following October 7th.²¹

The pay of soldiers of the Revolution, beginning in August 1775 as allowed in tobacco was to: Captain of Horse, 30 lbs; Lieutenant, 30 lbs; Cornet, 25 lbs; Captain of Foot, 30 lbs; Lieutenant 25 lbs; Ensign, 20 lbs; or at a lookout after the rate of so many pounds per month.

Under the Act of Convention, Oct., 1776, fifteen battalions of Virginia soldiers were raised.

On Oct., 1779, an enactment was made to raise 2,216 men, which entitled every soldier, then enlisting, to 100 acres of unappropriated land at the end of the war.

On October, 1780, an additional bounty of 300 acres was promised soldiers serving till end of the war.

On May 6th, 1782, the 6th year of the commonwealth, Benjamin Harrison, governor, there was passed an act for recruiting the state's quota of troops in the Continental Service: "3,000 men of sound minds and able-bodied, at least 5 ft. 4 in., ranging between the ages of 18 and 50, one man for every fifteen militia, for three years or during the war."

²¹ H. B. Grigsby, *Convention, 1776*, p. 135 footnote.

The Land Bounty, for officers the same as the Continental Establishment; a Captain, 300 acres; Lieutenant, 200 acres, Ensign, 150 acres; each non-commissioned officer and soldier, 100 acres.

Officers and soldiers were allowed twelve months to ascertain their claims to bounty lands.²²

Army contractors were ordered to provide a stand of colors to be borne at the head of the various regiments, bearing on one side the name of the district in which the regiment had been raised and on the other the legend "Virginia for Constitutional Liberty."

This was the first banner of liberty unfurled in the New World.²³

Sixty-five years after the settlement of the *American question* we find this criticism by an English subject,—England's Shortsightedness in the management of the British Colonies—

"In the general retrospect of her opportunities and duties, England cannot be acquitted of the most lamentable shortcoming in the matter of emigration.

"At the death of Elizabeth, more than a century after the discovery of America, there was not an Englishman settled on that continent or on its islands. In the course of the ensuing century and a half there grew up a colony of religious exiles, of outcasts, penal convicts, slaves and of planters. Its misgovernment was as bad as its materials and the natural result of both was a war, which cost this government a hundred millions of money: certainly more than twenty times as much as England had ever spent for the good of the colony and which was happily unsuccessful

²² Hening, Statutes.

²³ Brock.

on our part. Those hundred millions, that estrangement of feelings, that disgrace to our arms, were not the worst result of our colonial impolicy. It was from the banks of the Hudson and Potomac, that the spirit of Democracy recoiled upon Europe and a whole age of universal revolution and war might be traced to a custom-house squabble at Boston." *London Times*—1848. (*Virginia Historical Register*.)

CHAPTER XXVII.

EVOLUTION OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT. "GOVERNMENT IS THE MACHINERY ESTABLISHED BY THE CONSTITUTION."

"The free institutions of Virginia claim an ancient and exalted lineage. They come down through the London Company under the able and generous lead of Sir Edwin Sandys and the Earl of Southampton from that noble band of patriots who commenced the struggle for British freedom in thereign of the first James and who by the spirit they kindled, ensured its final consummation in the reign of his successor. Under the auspices of the most stirring epochs the first representative Assembly ever convened in the western world—the Grand Assembly" met in "James City," June, 1619, of which the General Assembly of Virginia may be considered the descendent. This event so fruitful of important consequences to the liberties of the new world, no less than the first settlement of the Colony there, invests the now deserted James Town with historical associations.¹ Why should not such a spot be commemorated by some monument of the public gratitude and veneration? The soil of Virginia was the theatre of the great closing scenes of the war of Independence. The plains of York Town were signalized by the capture and surrender of the hostile army that maintained the contest against American Liberty. The surrender of that powerful and well-appointed army to the combined forces of America and France was in itself a most august and imposing scene and in its consequence by far the greatest event of the age. A Resolution adopted by Congress October 29, 1781, just ten days after the event

¹ A celebration of the founding of Jamestown occurred on the deserted site in 1807; and another upon the 250th anniversary in 1857.

reads "Resolved, the U. S. in Congress assembled will cause to be erected at York in Virginia a marble column adorned with suitable emblems and inscribed with a succinct narrative of the circumstances of the surrender." Some of our sister states have set us a noble example by marking those spots of their territory which have been the scenes of great historical events, to signalize them to future ages and to embody a lasting expression of the national sensibility and gratitude. Are not York and James Town worthy to be thus commemorated with Bunker Hill and Plymouth?"²

The first settlement was under the direction of an incorporated company of merchants in London; who were authorized, by their charter from James I., to make a government for the colonists.

The first step, towards this end, was the appointment of a president and council: the latter to be nominated by the company in London, and the president to be chosen by the people in Virginia.

Through Bancroft we learn that "their charter reserved supreme legislative authority to the king and while a general superintendence of the colony was confided to a Council in England appointed by him, its local administration was entrusted to a Council residing within its limits: to the emigrants themselves it conceded not one elective franchise, not one of the rights of self-government."³

² Address of William C. Rives. Virginia Historical Society, 1849.

³ While minister to England in 1841 Geo. Bancroft had the public archives thrown open to him: availing himself of this source of information in his writings, "The His. of the U. S. from the Discovery of the Am. Con't" published 1834 and 1882, has proven a reference book for later historians.

Writing of the unsatisfactoriness of this first charter, Smith says "as they can make no Laws in Virginia till they can be ratified in England, they think it reason none should be enacted here without their consents, because they only feel them and live under them."

"After they had settled in a fit and convenient place, the plantation was governed by a president and council aristocratically and in this government happened all the miserie."

The second charter (granted in 1609) invested the company with the election of the council and the exercise of legislative power independent of the crown.

"A third patent gave to the Company a more democratic form; power was transferred from the council to the stockholders and their sessions became the theatre of bold and independent discussions."

"The Colonists themselves were allowed to share in legislation and in June, 1619, Governor Yeardley, the council and two representatives from each of the boroughs, constituted the first popular representative body of America."

"The written constitution brought by Gov. Wyatt extended still further the representative principle: under its provisions two burgesses were to be chosen for the Assembly by every town, hundred, or particular plantation. Each colonist became a freeman and a citizen, and ceased to be a servant of a commercial company, dependent on the will and orders of his superiors. The colony flourished under this management and representations of its advantages awakened the cupidity and excited the ambition of English courtiers."⁴

⁴Ramsay.

"Under instructions from Sir Thomas Smith's administration Yeardley convened the first legislature in America July 30, 1619, at Jamestown."

"Sir George, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants, declared his intention of reinstating them in full possession of the privileges of Englishmen, by convoking a colonial assembly. This first legislative body consisted of the governor, the council and burgesses elected by the seven existing burroughs, who, assembling in one apartment, conducted their deliberations with good sense and harmony and debated all affairs that involved the general welfare. The laws which they enacted were transmitted to England for the approbation of the treasurer and company and are no longer extant, but they were declared to have been in the main wisely framed though somewhat intricate and unsystematical. In sending their enactments to England the Assembly requested the general court to prepare a digest for Virginia of the English laws and to procure for it the sanction of the king's approbation, adding 'that it was not fit that his subjects should be governed by any other rules than such as received their influence from him.' (Chalmers.)

"The company sometime after passed an ordinance by which they substantially established this Virginia Constitution. They reserved however to themselves the creation of a council of state, which should assist the governor with advice in his administration and also should form a part of the assembly and they provided on the one hand that the enactments of the Assembly should not have the force of law till ratified by the courts of proprietors and conceded that on the other, the orders of this court should have no force in Va. till ratified by the Colonial assembly.

"Thus early was planted in America that representative system, in which the energies of liberty are exercised and developed—and through which its vigorous spirit was rapidly advancing to a first manhood." "This first convention for settling public affairs of the Plantation, met in the choir of the church: in it was represented seven corporations and four more were laid off during the summer. When the company was dissolved in 1624 the king continued the same method of government. The Assembly debated all the weighty affairs and enacted laws for better government of the people and the Governor and Council were to put them in execution. These two last were appointed by the king, but the Assembly chosen by the people: afterwards the governor had a more extensive power put into his hands."

The Company, desiring to guarantee freedom to the colonists, furnished them a constitution, the principles of which the Virginians never could be brought to relinquish: and which is preserved in a 'Summary of the ordinance and constitution of the treasurer, council and company in England, for a council of state, and another council to be called the General Assembly in Virginia, contained in a commission to Sir Francis Wyatt' (the first governor under that ordinance and constitution) 'dated July 24, 1621.'⁵

The General Assembly was to be called by the governor once a year, and not oftener unless on very extraordinary and important occasions, and this Assembly was to have full power to treat, consult, and conclude, as well of all emergent occasions concerning the public weal of the said colony, and every part thereof, as also to make, ordain and

⁵ Howe, p. 42,43.

enact such general laws and orders, for the behoof of said colony and the good government thereof, as from time to time might seem necessary.

No law or ordinance was to continue in force or validity unless it was solemnly ratified in a general quarterly court of the Company and returned under seal; and it was promised that as soon as the government of the colony should once have been well framed and settled, that no orders of court should afterwards bind the colony, unless they were ratified in the same manner by the General Assembly.

Inferior courts were first appointed in 1622 by the General Assembly, under the name of county courts, the governor and Council still remaining Judges of the Superior courts.*

The Assembly enacted that in every plantation there should be set apart a house or room for the worship of God, to be used for no other purpose; the services to be conducted with uniformity to the canons of the church of England. Whoever absented themselves from service any Sunday should forfeit one pound of tobacco; if he failed to attend a month, should forfeit fifty pounds of tobacco. Parents were required by enactment of another law to baptize their infant children within a prescribed period.

The following is the form of oath to the church which the law required to be taken in court: "——— came into court and took the oaths, etc., 'I, the subscriber, do subscribe to be conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, as the same is by law established.'"

Between 1657 and 1658 county courts were empowered to divide the counties into parishes and these latter were

*Beverley.

entitled to send Burgesses to the General Assembly. Hence some parishes appear in history, of whose establishment by act of Assembly there is no record. Plantations were represented as burgs and parishes. In 1688 the province contained forty-eight parishes: a church was built in every parish and a house and glebe were assigned to the clergyman, along with the stipend fixed by law at 16,000 pounds of tobacco.⁷

"The calamities befalling the colony and dissensions of the Company caused king James to issue a commission to enquire into all matters respecting the settlement from the beginning."

The books and papers were ordered into the custody of these commissioners whose transactions were kept concealed, but the result made known in October, 1623. "That his Majesty having taken into consideration the distressed state of Virginia had resolved to appoint a governor and twelve assistants in England and a Gov'r and 12 assistants to reside in Virginia.....and all proceedings subject to the royal direction."

"The Company was ordered to resolve whether they would resign their charter and in default of submission the king would recall it.

"This arbitrary mandate so astonished the company that when they met, it was read over three times, as if they distrusted their ears. The king declared the change of government would injure no man's property and commr's were appointed to go and enquire into the state of the colony. Those appointed were Sir John Harvey, (governor in 1626) Abraham Percy, John Pory (who had been Secretary) Samuel Matthews and John Jefferson.

⁷ Slaughter, Bristol Parish.

"The subjects of enquiry were: How many plantations
..... Which of them be public and which private.....
How the Colony standeth in respect of the savages
What hopes may be truly conceived of the plantation.....
The means to attain these hopes, etc., etc.

"The Virginia Gov'r and Council were ordered to assist, but no copy of instructions were given them. A writ was issued against the Company and upon the representation of the Attorney-General that no defence could be made without their books, these were restored the redelivery of which to the privy Council was protracted till the Company's clerks had taken copies. These copies were deposited in the hands of the Earl of Southampton and after his death in 1624 descended to his son, after whose death in 1667 they were purchased, of his executors for 60 guineas, by Col. Byrd of Va. then in England."

From these copies and the records of the colony, the Rev. Wm. Stith compiled his history of Virginia.

In Henings Statutes⁸ may be found the acts of the Assembly of March, 1624, which are brief and simple, and to the point; they refer to agriculture, church establishment and defense against the Indians. The names of the members of this Assembly are also preserved by Hening; and are as follows;—

Sir Francis Wyatt, Knt., Governor, etc.	
Captain Francis West,	John Pott,
Sir George Yeardley,	Captain Roger Smith,
George Sandys, Treasurer,	Captain Ralph Hamor,
And John Pountis, of the Council.	

⁸ Vol. I, pp. 119-129.

Burgesses.
William Tucker,
Jabez Whitaker,
William Peeine,
Raleigh Crashaw,
Richard Kingsmell,
Edward Blany
Luke Boyse,
John Pollington,
Nathaniel Causey,
Robert Adams,
Thomas Harris,
Richard Stephens,

Burgesses.
Nathaniel Bass,
John Willcox,
Nicolas Marten,
Clement Dilke,
Isaac Chaplin,
John Chew,
John Utie,
John Southerne,
Richard Bigge,
Henry Watkins,
Gabriel Holland,
Thomas Morlatt,

R. Hickman, Clerk.

Stith's history records the end of the Virginia Company. "One of the most public spirited societies that had ever been engaged in such an undertaking." He describes the company as formed of "gentlemen of very noble, clear and disinterested views willing to spend much of their time and money and did actually expend more than £100,000 of their own fortunes without any prospect of present gain or retribution in advancing an enterprise they conceived to be of very great consequence to their country."

Upon the dissolution of the company James⁹ issued a new commission in which the history of the colony was briefly recited. Sir Francis Wyat was continued governor with eleven assistants or counsellors; Francis West, George Yeardley, Geo. Sandys, Roger Smith, Raph Hamor, John Martin, John Harvey, Samuel Matthews, Abraham Percy, Isaac Madison and Wm. Clayborne.

⁹ Beverley p. 44, states that Charles dissolved the London Co. in 1626.

These were appointed during the king's pleasure¹⁰ with authority to rule the colony and punish offenders. No assembly was mentioned or allowed because the king supposed that "so popular a course" was one cause of the late calamities and he hated the existence of such a body within any part of his dominions especially when they were disposed to inquire into their own rights and redress the grievances of the people.

As the legislators at the first Assembly, which met at Jamestown, were representatives from each borough or burg, they thus acquired the name of *Burgesses*, which they long retained. The division of counties was not made for some years later. In 1634 the colony, hitherto constituted of plantations or hundreds, was divided into eight shires or counties;¹¹ 1. James City, 2 Henrico, 3 Elizabeth City, 4. Warwick River, 5. Warrosquoyacki, 6. Charles River, 7. Charles City, 8. Accawmacke.

For some years after the formation of the counties, with their attendant courts of justice, no court-building was especially provided for the meetings of the magistrates who held their courts in different private homes, generally those of prominent members, (conveniently situated for such gatherings) and not always at the same house, the appointments being made from the sitting of the last court. Upon

¹⁰ Macaulay, Vol. I, p. 21, "James was always boasting of his skill in what he called *king-craft*, yet it is hardly possible even to imagine a course more directly opposed to all the rules of *king-craft* than that which he followed. The policy of wise rulers has always been to disguise strong acts under popular forms. James enraged and alarmed his Parliament by constantly telling them, that they held their privileges merely *during his pleasure*, and that they had no more business to enquire what he might lawfully do than what the Deity might lawfully do."

¹¹ These shires were to be governed as in England, and lieutenants to be appointed, in same manner, sheriffs, sergeants and bailiffs to be elected. As early as 1628-9 commissions were issued to hold monthly courts in the different settlements, which was the origin of our county court system.—Howe, p. 58.

the occasion of one of these assemblages, the court adjourned to sit in a field: no reason is assigned, among the records, for this proceeding, it seems probable it was for the convenience of selecting a site for a court-house, laying off of bounds or some similar reason. The first court-houses were primitively constructed of logs, sometimes covered over with clap-boards.

As the magistrates and other attendants generally came from long distances, a very important adjunct to the court-house was the hitching-post for horses.

The Colony remained seventeen years under the government of the Crown, that is, from the last year of James I. till 1642. In the year 1639 the Assembly appointed George Sandys, their agent to the English Court with instructions to oppose the re-establishment of the Company: these instructions he disregarded, presenting instead a Petition for restoring Letters Patent of Incorporation. Upon hearing of this the Grand Assembly passed a solemn Protestation, that such was never their meaning or intent "We, the Gov'r, Council and Burgesses having taken into consideration the dangerous effects from a company declare for ourselves that it was never desired and that we will never admit the restoring saving a most loyal obedience to his Most Sacred Majesty" This declaration and act was returned with the royal assent to it in these words "Charles Rex." "Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we have received a petition from you, together with a declaration and protestation against a petition presented in your names for restoring letters patent, contrary to your intent and against all such as go about to alienate you from our protection these are to signify our favour towards you and yr desire to

continue under our protection is very acceptable to us and as we had not the least intention to consent to the introduction of *any company* over that our Colony so that we are confirmed in our resolution thinking it unfit to change a government wherein our subjects receive so much contentment. Given under our royal signet at our Court at York, July 5th, 1642."

"By this solemn Act (considered by the Grand Assembly as the Magna Charta and Palladium of their Liberties) the Constitution was established upon a permanent foundation so that history does not afford an instance of any farther attempt to dismember the Colony from its dependence upon the crown, except in the year 1674 the Lords Arlington and Culpeper obtained a grant for the term of 31 years from Charles II. of all the lands, rights, jurisdictions, quitrents and other royalties within the Dominion of Virginia. This grant was so vigorously opposed by the Grand Assembly that it was vacated and surrendered to the Crown."

The Assembly which met after the arrival of Berkeley in 1642 published a list of their acts in order to show to the colony that they had not swerved from "the true intent of their happy constitution which required them to enact good and wholesome laws and rectify and relieve such disorders and grievances as are incident to all states and republics; but that their late consultations would redound greatly to the benefit of the colony and their posterity."

In conclusion, the legislators stated, that the gracious inclination of his majesty, ever ready to protect them and now more particularly assured to them, together with the concurrence of a happy Parliament in England, were the motives which induced them to take this opportunity to "establish their liberties and privileges and settle their

estates, often before assaulted and threatened and lately invaded by the corporation; and to prevent the future designs of monopolizers, contractors, and pre-emptors, ever usurping the benefits of their labors; and they apprehended that no time could be mispent or labor misplaced, in gaining a firm peace to themselves and posterity, and a future immunity and ease to themselves from taxes and impositions which they expected to be the fruits of their endeavors."

In his *Miscellanies*, Howe has given extracts of the ancient laws of Virginia, 1662. "Every person who refuses to have his Child baptized by a lawful minister, shall be amerced 2,000 pounds of tobacco; half to the parish, half to the informer.

"The whole liturgy of the Church of England shall be thoroughly read at a church or chapel every Sunday.

"Church wardens shall present, at the county court, twice every year in December and April, such misdemeanors of swearing, drunkenness, etc., as by their own knowledge or common fame, have been committed during their being church-wardens.

"No marriage shall be reputed valid in law but such as is made by the minister, according to the laws of England. And no minister shall marry any person without a license from the governor or his deputy or thrice publication of bands, according to the rubrick in the common prayer book. The minister that doth marry contrary to this act shall be fined 10,000 lbs of tobacco.

"The court in every county shall cause to be set up near the C. H. a pillory, a pair of stocks, a whipping post, and a ducking-stool, or said court be fined 5,000 pounds of tobacco.

"Enacted that the Lord's Day be kept holy and no journeys be made on that day, unless upon necessity. And all persons inhabiting in this country having no lawful excuse, shall every Sunday resort to the parish church and there abide orderly or be fined 50 lbs of tobacco. This act shall not extend to Quakers, or other recusants, who totally absent themselves, but they shall be liable to the penalty imposed by the Statute Eliz.'h. 23rd- viz., £20. sterling for every month's absence; and if found assembling in unlawful conventicles, shall be fined 200 lbs of tobacco every man.

"The 27th day August be appointed for a day of humiliation, to implore God's mercy.

"No licensed attorney shall demand or receive, for bringing any cause to judgment in the general court; more than 500 lbs of tobacco and cask; and in the county court 150 lbs of tobacco and cask; which fees are allowed him without any pre-arrangement. If any attorney shall refuse to plead any cause in the respective courts aforesaid, for the aforesaid fees, he shall forfeit as much as his fees should have been.

"No master of any ship, vessel etc., shall transport any person out of this colony without a pass, under the secretary's hand, upon the penalty of paying all such debts as any such person shall owe at his departure and 1,000 lbs of tobacco to the secretary."

The act declaring a dissolution of the Colonial Government was passed as follows: "Whereas George III. King of Great Britain and Ireland, and Elector of Hanover heretofore interested with the exercise of the kingly office in this government hath endeavored to pervert the same into a detestable and insupportable tyranny by putting

his negative upon laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good * * * * by which several acts of misrule the government of this country as formerly exercised under the crown of Great Britain is Totally Dissolved."¹² On the discountinuanee of assemblies it became necessary to provide some other body in their place. In 1775 Conventions were introduced, consisting of two delegates from each county, meeting together and forming one house, on the plan of the former House of Burgesses, to whose places they succeeded. These were at first chosen anew at every particular session. But in March of this year they recommended the people to choose a Convention to continue in office for one year.

This was done in April and in July following that Convention passed an ordinance providing for the election of delegates in the month of April annually. Under this ordinance at the election in 1776 a Convention was elected which met soon afterwards on May 6th in the old Capitol in the city of Williamsburg and proceeded to consider the state of the country and adopted a resolution instructing the delegates representing the Colony in the General Congress to move that body to declare the United Colonies free and independent states and another appointing a committee to prepare and report a "Declaration of Rights and a plan of Government which should be most likely to maintain peace and order in this colony and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people."

"The Plan of Government as discussed was unanimously adopted June 29th as the Constitution of the State. This instrument provided that the Legislature should consist of a House of Delegates and Senate, a Governor and Privy Council, Judges of Supreme

¹² Hening, Vol. IX, II.

Court of Appeals and General Court, Judges in Chancery, etc." "On June 29, 1776, the first Constitution of Virginia (the first written constitution of a sovereign state known among men) was adopted by unanimous vote. The day after this adoption, in pursuance of its provisions the convention proceeded to elect a Governor and Council and deputed George Mason at the head of a committee to inform Patrick Henry of his election as Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth. Mason was also assigned the duty of assisting in the preparation of a seal for the new Commonwealth.



STATE SEAL OF VIRGINIA.

"The design adopted by the Committee for a new seal was not less fortunate in conception, nor less striking in execution than the regal effigy which it was to supersede. The figure of Virtue erect and triumphant, resting on a spear with one hand and holding a sword with the other, treading on a tyrant whose crown has fallen from his head and in whose left hand is a broken chain, and the right a scourge with the motto "*Sic semper Tyrannis*" tells with graphic fidelity not only the story of our independence, but the simple majesty of the men who portrayed it on the standard of our country.

"It was Mr. Mason who reported to the convention this device for the ensign of Virginia and whose fame will ever float in its folds. The committee consisted of Richard Henry Lee, George Mason, Nichols and Wythe. Three designs appear from Girardin to have been before the committee; the one adopted, Girardin ascribes to Wythe without naming his authority. Its designs are taken from Spence's Polymetis. Mason reported their choice to the House on the eve of its adjournment.¹³

"The first Draught of the Declaration of Rights drawn by me and presented to the Virginia Convention received few alterations. This was the first thing of the kind upon the Continent and has been closely imitated by all the other States. We have laid our new Government upon a broad foundation and have endeavored to provide the most effectual securities for the essential rights of human nature both in civil and religious liberty.

"The people become every day more and more attached to it * * * * Things have gone such lengths that it is a matter of moonshine whether independence was at first intended or not. To talk of replacing us in the situation of 1763 *as we first asked* is to the last degree impossible. No man was more attached to the Hanover family and the Whig interest of England than I and few men had stronger prejudices in favor of that form of government under which I was born and bred or a greater aversion to changing it. But when the reconciliation became a lost hope, and unconditional submission or effectual resistance were the only alternative left us, when the last dutiful and humble petition from Congress received no other answer than declaring us rebels and out of the King's protection, I, from that moment,

¹³ Grigsby, Convention of 1776, p. 167.

looked forward to a revolution and independence, the only means of salvation. To us upon the spot, who have seen step by step the progress of this great contest, who knew the defenceless state of America in the beginning and the numberless difficulties we have had to struggle with; taking a retrospective view of what has passed, we seem to have been treading upon enchanted ground."¹⁴

A general convention assembled in Richmond in October, 1829, for the purpose of revising the state constitution. No set of men of more varied talents or riper experience and wisdom, had been organized as a public body, since the meeting of the state convention which ratified the federal constitution: among the conspicuous names were ex-presidents Madison and Monroe, Chief-Justice Marshall, B. W. Leigh, Judge Leigh, John Randolph, Gov. Giles, Chapman Johnson, Judge Phil. Barbour, Judge Stanard, Chas. Mercer, Jno. Cooke, Richard Morris, Judge Summers, Judge Scott, Philip Doddridge, Judge Green Littleton Tazewell, Gen. Ro. Taylor, Governor Pleasants, Judge Abel Upshur and others.

The frame of government had been established prior to the declaration of independence and was therefore consecrated in the affections of a large portion of the people by association with revolutionary scenes and recollections. While no serious inconvenience had been experienced, some of the complaints, of those clamorous for reform, were in themselves reasonable. The grievance most earnestly dwelt upon was the unequal representation in the State Legislature. Counties of unequal size, wealth and population were represented in State Councils by an equal number of delegates.

¹⁴ George Mason (Virginia Historical Register).

The results of this convention was not entirely satisfactory, in fact it was the opinion of many that a third convention might be necessary to ward off much practical mischief, which they feared might accrue to the state through this *amended* constitution.¹⁵

The General Assembly of 1851 passed some highly important acts, one of which defines the position of Virginia to the United States, loyal to the Union, formed by the federal compact. Among a list of resolutions passed on the subject is one of a proposed Southern Congress * * * *

"That Virginia, believing the Constitution of the United States, *if faithfully administered*, provides adequate protection to the rights of all the States of this confederacy and still looking to that instrument for defence within the Union, warned by the experience of the past, the dangers of the present, and the hopes of the future, invokes all who live under it, to adhere more strictly to it, and to preserve, inviolate, the safe-guards which it affords to the rights of individual States and the interests of sectional minorities."

VIRGINIA IN THE YEAR 1860.

"Parties may rise and fall; they divide, dissolve, disappear, but amid all these mutations, our country is still here to claim our loyal affection and service.

"The voice of Virginia is still potential from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. Her sons are found in every county of every state throughout that wide region.

"The counsels of her statesmen are regarded with as much respect in Florida, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky and Texas as they are at home. Let her voice be heard

¹⁵ Howe, History of Virginia p. 126.

in any imminent crisis of the country and thousands would respond to it in every Southern State."

In 1860 the administration of Virginia Government was placed in the hands of John Letcher, born 1813, elected to Congress 1851, who while holding that office under the United States Government, gained the soubriquet of "Honest John Letcher, the watch-dog of the Treasury."

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "John Letcher". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background. The first name "John" is written in a standard cursive, while "Letcher" is more stylized, with a large, sweeping loop at the end of the word.



GEN. R. E. LEE.

WASHINGTON AND LEE.¹⁶

"Great Mother of great Commonwealths,"
Men call our Mother State:
And she so well has earned this name
That she may challenge Fate
To snatch away the epithet
Long given her of "great."

First of all Old England's outposts
To stand fast upon these shores,
Soon she brought a mighty harvest
To a People's threshing floors;
And more than golden grain was piled
Within her ample doors.

Behind her stormy sunrise shone,
Her shadow fell vast and long
And her mighty Adm'ral English Smith
Heads a prodigious throng
Of mighty men, from Raleigh down,
As ever arose in song.

Her names are the shining arrows
Which her ancient quiver bears,
And their splendid sheaf has thickened
Through the long march of the years:
While her great shield has been burnished
By her children's blood and tears.

Our history is a shining sea
Locked in by lofty land,
And its great Pillars of Hercules
Above the shining sand,
There behold in majesty
Uprising on each hand.

¹⁶ "Lee Memorial Ode," by Virginia's *laureate*, James Barron Hope.

These Pillars of our history,
In fame forever young,
Are known in every latitude,
And named in every tongue,
And down through all the ages
Their story shall be sung.

The Father of his Country
Stands above that shut-in sea,
A glorious symbol to the world
Of all that's great and free:
And today Virginia matches him—
And matches him with Lee!



GENERAL R. E. LEE, ON HIS HORSE TRAVELLER.—Copyrighted by A. H. Plecker, 1906.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE NOBLE RED MAN. LEGEND.

"From the Land beyond his vision appear, a few solitary white sails, far out in the blue water, seen with mysterious awe by the Indian, from the Atlantic shore, seeming like huge monsters from a spirit world. They move toward his land!

"From out their sides pour forth a new, unheard of race, with faces pale, speech unknown and garments of singular texture and brilliant in colors.

"The ring of the axe for the first time echoes through the wood. The habitations of the new race rise from the green earth.

"On the ocean border, hundreds of leagues apart they cluster in detached collections; but far inland do not yet penetrate.

"There the red man roams through the vast solitudes, unconscious of the dark cloud rising in the east to overwhelm and sweep him from the land.

"The settlements of the pale faces rapidly advance. They reach the oceanward slopes of the mountains: they pass over their summits. The smoke of their cabins curl up in the western valleys. The red man vanishes before them. Civilization is his conqueror and now the footsteps of millions of the new race press his grave and also those of his father."¹

¹ Howe's "Great West."

"An Indian chief questions "The French claim all the country to the west and the English all to the east and west, where then is the country of the Indians?"

Echo, the voice of the future, answers "Where?"

Many historians have portrayed the aborigines of North America, with whom the early settlers came in contact; giving us knowledge of their character, condition and customs. These tribal races very soon displayed a distrust of the encroaching new comers, while the latter, with good reason, discovered concealed hostility in the attitude of the red men, and realized the unreliableness of those they must conciliate in order to obtain necessary food and territory.

Difference of time and circumstance to-day enable us to regard the Indian dispassionately and in the analysis of his character we find much to admire. History, romance and poetry have chosen the once despised savage for their theme. He has become a picturesque figure of the day, rich in color. A modern Canadian has painted him in allegory, standing upon the brink of the Future—his back to the Past. With awakened sensibilities now he awaits the approaching bark, Progress, which bears the Christian banner and which is to carry him to his happy hunting-fields in the regions beyond. The musician too seizes upon his quaint genius in music, and brings to us his chants and love songs, plaintive strains, in transcriptions such as Farwell's "Dawn" the greeting of the Zuni Indian to Morning. To the *Pale Face* with sensitive ear, the harsh notes of the war dance is less appealing, but the admirer of Opera-bouffe delights in the Red man as a motif, and popular fancy is caught by his national costumes and dances.

Contemporary historians have so interlaced the narrative of Indian and Colonial life, we must be able to gather up detached items, to form anything like a clear conception of Indian character and conduct. Their first impulses, expressed in the reception of the white stranger, were kindly, but suspicion of his intentions being aroused, they consulted their deities for direction, and trusting implicitly their response, the imagined advice was followed without question. Growing distrust led to concerted measures for aggressive attack and persecution of the stranger, against whom they now directed all their energies.

Like the superstitious peoples of the East, their ideas of all things were grounded upon symbolism and this must be interpreted after their manner, to find the meaning of their lives, their motives of action. Many of these symbols reach us through their legends; some of the more interesting of which are associated with the tender passions, not always ascribed to the savage disposition.

A very touching legend concerns two lovers whose story came to an untimely termination by the death of the lady-love. Her body was interred upon the top of a solitary hillock overlooking a beautiful valley, their former trysting place; and here the bereft one came bringing his flute every night and morning and essayed to console himself for the separation, with a love-song composed to her memory. At the end of a year, (Indian *cohonk*, symbolized by the flight of wild fowl, their mode of computing that period of time) a bone from one of her arms appeared above the mound. Accepting this as a token of remembrance from his dear one, he discarded his reed and converting the limb into a musical instrument ever afterwards substituted this novel flute for the less sacred one. Tradition asserts that the

souls of the twain, now united, still haunt the burial spot and that at sunrise and sunset may be heard in the zephyrs of Dawn and Dusk, the strains of the mystical invocation.

To the editor of the Library of American History. (Leavitt and Allen, N. Y.) we are indebted for a just interpretation of the Indian, his ability and virtue. Through the information here given we can appreciate the unfairness of other history, (affected by traditions of barbarities perpetrated,) which gives a point of view always in favor of the whites.

"Little did their Sachems suppose that leaders of fiction would take Indian warriors and orators as heroes to celebrate in epic pride: could they have foreseen, it would have sweetened their cup of misery."

The finest, tribute to the Indian is found in this Library where the editor grows eloquent over the Braves, their deeds of valor and expressions of noble sentiment, which make them models for civilized orators and trained soldiers. "If viewed in the light of progress the Indian stands low in the ranks of the human race, yet look at him as a patriot, an orator and a philosopher, and he is seen in bold relief and lifts his head among men. War and hunting were the great objects of his existence.

"The eloquence of the Indian is bold, direct and often impassioned and comes with a sincerity that gives it a charm which the orator of refinement often loses in his subtlety. There is a decorum in the eloquence of the Council-fire which exceeds in grace and courtesy all that was ever enforced by parliamentary usages or congressional rules and orders.

"They are admirable historians, having no records but their memories and observations, but many accurate traditions, which carried down for ages are often more

accurate than pages of history, their method of making known every event to the whole tribe makes every member of the family an historian."



In their histories of the Indians of Eastern Virginia, Smith and Beverley, state that Powhatan was remarkable for the strength of his body as well as the energies of his mind, and

commanded a respect rarely paid by the savages to their werowance (king). Maintaining a dignity, worthy the monarch of thirty nations, he was constantly attended by a guard of forty warriors and during the night a sentry regularly watched his palace; when he slept, one of his women sat at his head and another at his feet; when he dined they attended him with water and brought a bunch of feathers to wash his hands.

History is generally silent as to the role of woman in Indian life but occasionally an author has given space in his pages to this subject and in his *Discourse*, Percy has some of these exceptional leaves from which we gather a few hints. An interesting item is their fashion of arranging their hair. "There is notice to be taken to know married women from maids: the Maids you shall always see the forepart of their head and sides shaven close, the hinder part very long, which they tie in a plaite hanging downe to their hips. The married women weares their haire all of a length and is tied of that fashion, as the maids are. The women kinde in this Country doth pounce and race their bodies, legges, thighes, arms and faces with a sharpe Iron which makes a stampe in curious knots, and drawes the proportion of Fowles, Fish or Beasts then with paintings of sundry colours, they rub it into the stampe which will never be taken away because it is dried into the Fleshe where it is seared."

"I saw Bread made by their women which doe all their drugerie. The manner of making bread is thus; after they pound their wheat into floure with hote water, they make it into a paste and work it into round balls and cakes then they put it into a pot of seething water; when it is sod thoroughly they lay it on a smooth stone and there they harden it as well as in an Oven.

"The women of the Powhatan Confederacy had considerable weight; and some of the tribes even had female sachems. Recorders were greatly impressed by the anxious inquiries of Pocahontas's family, respecting her health and her feelings, her content and her return, and by the great sorrow caused by her death.

"As to their duties it belonged to the women, to plant the corn and attend to all of the work of their gardens; this was no unequal division, for the labor was trifling and the warriors being engaged in war and hunting had not leisure for such objects. All the honors of an Indian community were *maternal*, and the children in event of a separation belonged to the wife; the husband being considered as a visitor: should any difference arise, he took up his gun and departed; nor did this separation entail any disgrace upon the parties concerned."

In the matter of religion the Indians, according to the same authorities, were grossly superstitious and even idolatrous.

Brown says with every king was buried all his wealth for they believed "that he who dieth richest liveth in another world happiest."

"They had a number of festivals which were celebrated with the utmost festivity. They solemnized a day for the plentiful coming of their wild fowl, for the returns of their hunting seasons and for the ripening of certain fruits. But their greatest festival was at the time of corn-gathering at which they revelled several days together. To these they universally contributed as they did at the gathering of the corn. On this occasion they had their greatest variety of pastimes, war dances and heroic songs in which they boasted that their corn being now gathered, they

had store enough for their women and children and had nothing to do but go to war, travel and seek for new adventures. There was a second annual festival conducted with still greater solemnity commencing with a fast which exceeded any abstinence known among the most mortified hermits. The fast was followed by a feast. The old fire was put out and a new fire called the *drill fire* started by the friction of two pieces of wood: they sprinkled sand on



INDIAN DANCE.

the hearths. At this meeting all crimes except murder were pardoned and the bare mention of them afterwards was considered disreputable. At the close of this festival, which continued four days, a funeral procession commenced, the signification of which was that they buried all the past in oblivion and the criminals having tasted of the concoction of *casina* were permitted to sit down beside the men they had injured."

The peculiarities of their belief gave meaning to their manner of invoking the Great Spirit.

They believed that the white men had come from under the world to take their world from them. Assuming an earnestness in that belief, we must grant a show of reason for much

outrageous conduct which seemed but a display of brutality—the expression of savage and vengeful instinct.

Stith says “To the remonstrances of some persons in the colony against the worship of demons, the Indians of Virginia answered that they believed in two great spirits, a good and an evil one; and that the first was a being sunk in the enjoyment of everlasting indolence and ease, who showered down blessings indiscriminately from the skies, leaving man to scramble for them as they chose and totally



INDIAN GOD "OKEE."

indifferent to their concerns; but that the second was an active, jealous spirit, whom they were obliged to propitiate that he might not destroy them."

Then Smith tells of their temple places "they have also certain Alter-stones, they call Pawcorances; these stand for their Temples, some by their houses, others in the woods and wilderness where they have had any extraordinary accident or encounter. And as you travell at those stones, they will tell you the cause why they were erected, which from age to age they instruct their children, as their best records of antiquity. Upon these they offer blood, Deere-suet and tobacco." "The Indians esteemed tobacco their principal medicine and ascribed its virtues to the inhabitation of one of those spiritual beings which they supposed to reside in all the extraordinary productions of nature."

Belknap describes their Idol *Okee*, which they displayed before Smith as "composed of skins, stuffed with moss and adorned with chains of copper." *Okee*, was also called *Quioccas* or *Kiwasa*, and "they do not look upon it as one single being, but reckon there are many of the same nature. They believe that there are tutelar deities in every town." (Beverley)

POCAHONTAS.

The Third * * * * *

With mercy's soft celestial beams,

Lights fair romances, histories and dreams!²

* * * * * there glows

A vision fair as Heaven to saint e'er shows

A dove of mercy o'er the billows dark

Fluttered awhile then fled within God's ark.

Had I the power, I'd reverently describe

² James Barron Hope "Three Names."



POCAHONTAS.

That peerless maid—the “pearl of all her tribe”
As evening fair, when coming night and day
Contend together which shall wield its sway.
But here abashed, my paltry fancy stays;
For her, too humble its most stately lays.
A shade of twilight’s softest, sweetest gloom—
The dusk of morning—formed a splendid tomb
In England’s glare: so strange, so vast, so bright
The dusk of morning burst in splendid light
Which falleth through the Past’s cathedral aisles
Till sculptured Mercy like a seraph smiles
And though Fame’s grand and consecrated fane
No kingly statue may in time, retain
Her name shall linger, nor with age grow faint
Its simple sound—the image of a saint.”³

The life of Pocahontas was embraced within a short period of time, but those years were very eventful and measured by their importance to the colony, might fill many a page in history.

Her innate goodness accomplished as great results as could have been obtained by the most subtle and matured diplomacy. Her prompt sympathy and assistance relieved Smith and his companions in times of distress; her influence over her powerful father, and watchfulness of his designs, enabled them to retain possession of land they had acquired; her marriage with Rolfe established friendly relations during that father’s life and for a time at least, disarmed Indian suspicion and hostility: all of which resulted in good to the adventurers personally and the general advancement of colonial interests in Virginia.

Of Pocahontas we first hear in the winter of 1608, when Smith had been brought a prisoner before Powhatan and

³ “Anniversary Ode” 1857. Jas. Barron Hope.

was about to be killed. A girl of tender years, she was yet at an age when an English child would have been under the charge of her nurse, and unacquainted with aught but juvenile amusements. Together with her sister she sat, beside the great and much-feared Powhatan⁴ at the Council (Matchacomoco) which was to decide the fate of Smith.

She was doubtless familiar with scenes of horror, so the prompt rescue attempted by her only, amid a crowd of savages, indicated phenomenal tenderness and the success of her appeal proved the Chief's love for his daughter. Also—as her people's mode of warfare, and summary manner of slaughtering the enemy at their mercy, must have inured her to the sight of shocking butcheries,—we may believe that her intercession arose from a feeling of especial pity for the white stranger, one alone among foreign people.

Writing sometime later to the Queen, his mistress, of the services she rendered him and the colony, Smith tells of “Some ten years agoe when being in Virginia and taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan, their cheefe king, I received from this great salvage exceeding great courtesie especial from his sonne, Nantaquaus, the most manliest, boldest spirit I ever saw in a Salvage and his sister Pocahontas, the King's most deare and well-beloved daughter, being but a childe, whose compassionate, pitifull heart of my desperate estate, gave me much cause to respect her. At the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her own braines to save mine; and not that onely, but so prevailed with her father that I was safely conducted

⁴ Stith, p. 58, Powhatan sat on a bed of mats, with a pillow of leather embroidered with pearls and white beads and was clothed with a robe of skins as large as an Irish mantle.

to Jamestown where had not the salvages fed us, we directly had starved, and this relieve was brought us by this Lady Pocahontas."

Upon Newport's arrival with gifts from the English king to Powhatan, Smith went to carry notice of the intended presentation, but finding the chief away from home, was entertained, while waiting his return, by Pocahontas and her maidens with one of their dances, which is thus described by Belknap. "In an open plain,—(a fire being made)—Smith and his company were seated in it. Suddenly a noise was heard in the adjacent wood, which made them fly to their arms and seize on two or three old men as hostages for their security, imagining that they were betrayed. Upon this the young princess came running to Smith and passionately offered herself to be killed if any harm should happen to him or his companions. Her assurances removed their fears. The noise which had alarmed them was made by thirty girls who were preparing for the intended ceremony. Immediately they made their appearance, wearing a girdle of green leaves and their skins painted, each a different color. Their leader had a pair of buck's horns on her head, an otter's skin as her girdle and another on one arme; a bow and arrow in the other hand and a quiver at her back.

"The rest of them had horns on their heads and a wooden sword or staff in their hands. With shouting and singing they formed a ring round the fire and performed a circular dance for about an hour, after which they retired in the same order as they had advanced. A feast followed and this being ended they conducted the gentlemen to their lodging by the light of firebrands." The dance with her companions gives a suggestion of her happy frolicsome

life: her friendliness for the English visitors is shewn in the willingness to amuse them and afterwards hospitably to provide for their refreshment and repose.

Through Strackey's report we learn that the name, Pocahontas, meant little wanton, a term suggesting that she was a beloved and petted child; and nothing hurtful seems to have come into her life, though she passed through the time when vice stalked abroad in all its deformity. A few years longer this *little wanton* lived in happy freedom among her own people.

Smith's captivity and release had produced an intercourse with the savages, so we are not surprised to find that Pocahontas frequently visited the plantations with her attendants. On one occasion, at the risk of being discovered and punished, she escaped in the night and ran nine miles to warn the colonists of a plot, instigated by the advice of a treacherous Dutchman, against them, which she overheard Powhatan and his councillors discussing. This service was illy repaid later by her betrayal and imprisonment—which, however, resulted happily for all concerned.

After Smith's return to England she had again an opportunity of rendering timely service to the colonists. Ratcliffe, accompanied by thirty men, went in a vessel up the river to trade with Powhatan, when all of the party lost their lives but two men "who were saved by the humanity of Pocahontas."

Of his intention and success in capturing her, Captain Argall himself tells "The Great Powhatan's Daughter, Pocahontas, was with the great king Patowomeck, whether I presently repaired, resolving to possess myself of her by any stratagem that I could use for the ransoming of so many Englishmen as were prisoners with Powhatan

and this I accomplished through intimidations and promises of assistance to this great king, *Patowomeck*, who called his Counsell together, and after some houres deliberation, concluded rather to deliver her into my hands, than lose my friendship, so that presently he delivered her into my Boat."

Grahame also gives the reason which actuated Argall in capturing Pocahontas. "Captain Argall was despatched to the Potomac for a cargo of corn; here he learned that Pocahontas was living in retirement at no great distance from him, and hoping by possession of her person to attain such an *ascendant* over Powhatan as would enforce an ample contribution of provisions, he prevailed on her by some artifice to come on board his vessel and then set sail with her to Jamestown, where she was detained in a state of honorable captivity."

Brown says "Pocahontas was brought a prisoner to Jamestown in April, 163¹; on that piratical ship called the *Treasurer*, which six years later brought the first negroes to the Colony."

"Argall entered into acquaintance with Japazaws, the Sachem (the Indian employed to entrap Pocahontas)—an old friend of Captain Smith, and of all the English who had come to America. In his territory the princess was concealed. Argall bargained⁵ with him to bring her on board the ship under pretence of a visit with his own wife. He then carried Pocahontas to Jamestown where she had not been since Capt. Smith left the country."

In a letter of Chamberlain's (quoted in "Genesis of America") there is given an explicit account of the effect

⁵Japazaws offered to sell Pocahontas for a copper-kettle and the bargain was made."—Howe.

of this exploit upon affairs in the settlement "There is a ship come from Virginia with newes of theyre well doing which put some life into that action that before was almost at the last cast. They have taken a daughter of the King that was their greatest enemie as she was going a feasting upon a river to visit certain friends: for whose ransome the father offers whatsoever is in his power and to become theyre friend and to bring them where they shall meet with gold mines: they propound unto him, three conditions, to deliver all the English fugitives, to render all manner of arms or weapons of theyres, that are come to his hands and to give them 300 quarters of corn. The first two he performed readilie and promiseth the other at theyre harvest If his daughter may be well used in the meantime. But this ship brought no commodoties from thence but only these fayre tales and hopes."

History represents Pocahontas as a woman distinguished by her personal attractions. Detained a prisoner^a she met and was won by John Rolfe, a colonist who had landed in May, 1611,—a man twenty-six-years of age,—and whom she married in April, 1614, (N. S.), one year after her capture. The marriage met with the approbation of her father, who sent her uncle and her two brothers to witness the ceremony, which was solemnized with great pomp, according to the rites of the Episcopal church, at Jamestown.

His great satisfaction in this marriage mitigated Powhatan's feelings towards Rolfe's people and during the remainder of his life he continued on friendly terms with them.

Stith writes of the home into which Pocahontas was carried—"Master John Rolfe, sometime secretary of the Colony, had his habitation at Varina, where he cultivated

^a It is related that being *well entreated* Pocahontas became a Christian.

a fine tract of land. Having married the Indian maid at Jamestown under the eye and sanction of Sir Thomas Dale, in the year 1613, (O. S.), he brought her here where they continued to live in happy wedlock, and ever after they had peaceable trade and commerce as well with Powhatan as with all his subjects."

In the spring of 1616 Pocahontas accompanied her husband on a visit to England, again a passenger aboard the Treasurer, but now a happy wife. While in London her portrait was painted: this represents her as dressed according to the fashion of the day, with tall crowned hat and stiffly starched ruff, etc. From this model, owned by a member of the Rolfe family in England, pictures of her in general circulation have been copied. This is valuable because a life picture: and has inscribed on it her age, the date, her various names, parentage, conversion, baptism and marriage.

There are evidences that many pictures have been drawn of her at various times, some entirely imaginative. In a letter,⁷ dated 1617, from Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton there is reported "The Virginia woman, *whose picture, I sent you*, died this last week at Gravesend, as she was returning home."⁸ A portrait of her was in the home of John Randolph of Roanoke, Charlotte County. "Among the many pictures and portraits in these rooms is one of Pocahontas. The arms are bare to the elbow, displaying an arm and hand of exquisite beauty. The hair and eyes are a raven black, the latter remarkably expressive and the

⁷ Alexander Brown.

⁸ "Early in 1617 John Rolfe prepared to embark for Virginia, with his wife and child in Capt'n Argall's vessel, "the George." Pocahontas was reluctant to return." —Campbell, p. 120.

whole countenance surpassing lovely and beaming with intelligence and benignity."

A portrait in Heacham Hall, Heacham, England, portrays her with her little son,⁹ the infant at her death,—grown to several years of age, her own face proportionately matured.

One of her most attractive portraits represents her as still very young, clothed with the native fur-fringed robe, loosely wound around her figure, and that left uncramped in its graceful proportions and ease of posture.

The visit of Pocahontas to England furnished a theme for many writers and created an excitement and interest at court.

The Rev. Samuel Purchas, of the parish of Thaxted in Essex, a friend of John Smith, notes his impressions of her. "She did not only accustom herself to civilitie but still carried herself as the daughter of a king, and was accordingly respected.

"Dr. King, the Lord Bishop of London, entertained her with festival and state and pomp beyond what I have seen in his great hospitalitie afforded to other ladies. At her return towards Virginia, she came to Gravesend, to her end and grave." History records that this author drew upon Smith's narrative for his subject matter in his "Pilgrimes," not being familiar with Virginia records, but in this relation of the reception of Pocahontas and her deportment, he asserts "I was present." Brown states that she was lionized, entertained and amused; that the Lord and Lady de la Warr introduced her at court.

Smith thought that a letter of commendation from him to the Queen would insure her a welcome, and so "before

⁹ His father had left him in England because too young to travel to America.

Pocahontas arrived at London, to deserve her former courtesies, Captain Smith made her qualities knowne to the Queene's most excellent Majestie and her court and writ a little booke to this effect to the Queene." He met her during her stay in London, but the interview seems to have afforded less satisfaction than she had anticipated, in fact, despite the attention she attracted (because of the reputation and notoriety—which preceded her arrival—her grace of person and gentle and pleasing manner) the contrast of the life she had left and that into which she had been transplanted, seems to have filled her with sadness and in recalling her disappointment, a feeling of regret must be felt that her sickness, death and burial occurred in a foreign land, so far away from her childhood's home and all associations of her youth.

Rolfe was preparing to return to Virginia when his wife was taken ill and died, March 21, 1617, aged twenty-two years; leaving an *infant* son, Thomas Rolfe, from whom are descended several families of Virginia, who held their lands by inheritance from her. Stith traces thus the descent from Pocahontas. Her son Thomas, educated in England, came to Virginia where he became a man of fortune and distinction and inherited a large tract of land, through his grandfather, Powhatan.

Thomas Rolfe left an only daughter who married Col. Robert Bolling. Their son, Major John Bolling was father of Col. John Bolling, Jr., whose five daughters married, Col. Richard Randolph, Col. John Fleming, Dr. William Gay, Mr. Thomas Eldridge and Mr. James Murray. Such was the state of the family in 1747. Campbell says "Col. Theodorick Bland, Jr., born in 1742, was a descendant of Pocahontas. He was a native of Prince George County,

was educated in England and in 1761 studied medicine in Edinburgh. Among the first Virginians who devoted themselves to this study, which was little cultivated in the colony, he is entitled to the merit of having been one of its earliest pioneers."

William Wirt, "sometime attorney-general," writes in the "British Spy" of a visit he made to the site of Powhatan's village, the home of Pocahontas' youth and Wirt thinks "probably the birthplace of that princess." "The town was built on the river about two miles below the head of tidewater. The Indians built their habitations in such a slight manner, no vestige of the town remains. I could not help recalling the principal features of her history: the arrival of the English, their great ship, with her sails spread, advancing in solemn majesty, their complexion, dress and language; their domestic animals; cargo of new and glittering wealth; the thunder and irresistible force of their artillery; their distant country, beyond the great water of which the oldest Indian had never dreamed. I have little doubt that Pocahontas deserves to be considered as the patron deity of the enterprise, that but for her patronage, the anniversary cannon of July the Fourth would never have resounded throughout the United States.

"Probably this sensible and amiable woman, perceiving the probability of the subjugation of her countrymen and anxious as well to soften their destiny, as to save the needless effusion of human blood, desired by her marriage with Rolfe to hasten the abolition of distinction between Indians and white men; to bind their interests and affections by the nearest ties and to make them regard themselves as one people."

Cawson's, the birthplace of Randolph,²⁸ is described by Garland in his "Biography" as "on a commanding promontory near the mouth of the Appomattox river in Prince George county. It had been the family seat of Col. Theoderic Bland, Sr., "After winding amidst the woody islands around the base of the hill, the river spreads out into a wide bay and together with the James, into which it empties, makes towards the north and east a beautiful river prospect, embracing in one view, Shirley, the seat of the Carters; Bermuda Hundred with its harbor and ships; City Point, and others of less note. In the midst of this commanding scene the old mansion house reared its ample proportions and with its offices and extended wings, was not an unworthy representative of the baronial days, in which it was built: when Virginia cavaliers, with the title of gentlemen, with their broad domain of virgin soil and long retinue of servants lived in a style of elegance and profusion not inferior to the barons of England and dispensed a hospitality which more than half a century of sub-division and decay has not entirely become effaced from the memory of their impoverished descendants. At Cawson's scarcely a vestige remains of former grandeur. The old mansion was burned many years ago. Randolph writes of a visit he paid to his birthplace 'the seat of my ancestors on one side, and spot where my dear mother was given in marriage,' where he found desolation and stillness as of death, the fires of hospitality long since quenched."

²⁸Born June 2d, 1773, the 7th in descent from Pocahontas; a son of John Randolph of Matoax on the Appomattox, near Petersburg: his mother, the daughter of Theoderic Bland, Jr. Randolph died at Philadelphia, May 24th, 1833.

There is a tradition that the island of Gwyn, on the east side of Matthews county in Chesapeake Bay, was given by Pocahontas in token of gratitude for her rescue from drowning, when she was attempting to swim across the Pianka-tank river. The island is at the mouth of the principal stream in the county, (named for Gen. George Matthews, a Revolutionary soldier, and formed from Gloucester) a peninsular almost entirely surrounded by water, as it extends out into the bay, and is only united by a narrow neck, scarcely a mile wide, to the main land. Owing to the land being almost level, there are no streams of fresh water running through the county: wind and tide mills are used for grinding grain. The Court-house or Westville, near the centre of the county, is a port of entry, being on a small stream putting up from East river.

In June, 1776, several months after the burning of Norfolk, Lord Dunmore left Hampton Roads and landing upon Gwyn's island, fortified himself there with his whole fleet. They endured great suffering from small-pox and other malignant diseases, and upon being attacked by the Virginians under Gen. Lewis, evacuated the island with the greatest precipitation. The effects of one Mr. John Grimes, consisting of thirty-five negroes, a number of horses, cattle and furniture being left on the island, were captured by the American troops.²⁹

In the "Virginians" Thackeray makes Mr. Warrington write a play introducing a poem to Pocahontas: explaining that "the English public not being so well acquainted with the history of Pocahontas, as we of Virginia, who still love the simple and kindly creature, at the suggestion of friends, I made a little ballad about this Indian princess, which was printed in the magazines. "Spencer declared that the

²⁹ Howe, Antiquities.

poem was discussed and admired at several coffee-houses³⁰ in his hearing and that it had been attributed to Mr. Mason, Mr. Cowper, of the Temple and even to the famous Mr. Gray.

Wearied arm and broken sword,
Wage in vain the desperate fight,
Round him press a countless horde—
He is but a single knight.
Hark a cry of triumph shrill
Through the wilderness resounds,
As with twenty bleeding wounds
Sinks the warrior fighting still.

Now they heap the fatal pyre,
And the torch of death they light.
Ah! 'tis hard to die of fire!
Who will shield the Captive knight?
Round the stake with fiendish cry
Wheel and dance the savage crowd,
Cold the victim's mien and proud
And his breast is bared to die.

Who will shield the fearless heart?
Who avert the murderous blade?
From the throng with sudden start
See there springs an Indian maid.
Quick she stands before the knight,
'Loose the chain, unbind the ring:
I am daughter of the king,
And I claim the Indian right!'

³⁰ The coffee-house supplied in some measure the place of a journal. Thither the Londoners flocked as the Athenians of old flocked to the market place to hear whether there was any news. But people who lived at a distance from the great theatre of political contention could be kept regularly informed of what was passing there only by means of *news-letters*. To prepare such letters became a calling in London as it now is among the natives of India. The news-writer rambled from coffee-room, to coffee-room, collecting reports; squeezed himself into the Sessions House at the Old Bailey, if there was an interesting trial, obtained admission to the gallery of Whitehall and noticed how the king and duke looked. Such were the sources from which the inhabitants of the largest provincial cities and the great body of the gentry and clergy, learned almost all they knew of the history of their own time.—Macaulay.

Dauntlessly aside she flings
Lifted axe and thirsty knife,
Fondly to his heart she clings,
And her bosom guards his life!
In the woods of Powhatan
Still 'tis told by Indian fires,
How a daughter of their sires
Saved the Captive Englishman."

The author says he made the acquaintance of the brave Captain Smith, in his grandfather's library where he would spell out the exploits of the Virginia hero: and he tells how he loved to read of Smith's travels, sufferings, captures and escapes.

The sweetest lines penned in memory of the Indian maid, came from James Barron Hope's poem of "Three Names" which contains a couplet to *Pocahontas*.

"Her story, sure, was fashioned out above
Ere it was enacted on the scene below!
For 'twas a very miracle of love,
When from the savage hawk's nest came the dove,
With wings of peace to stay the ordered blow—
The hawk's plumes bloody, but the dove's as snow.

And here my heart oppressed by pleasant tears
Yield to a young girl's half angelic spell—
Yes, for that maiden like a saint appears
She needs no fresco, stone nor shrine to tell
Her story to the people of this Land—
Saint of the Wilderness, enthroned amid
The wooded Minster where the pagan hid."

The remains of Pocahontas were interred at Gravesend, England, where she died. The inscription on her tomb reads:

"Rebecca Wrothe wyffe of
Thomas Wrothe, gent. A. Virginia
Lady borne was buried in the Chauncell.

(sent to the Va. His. Reg. by Robert Joynes, Rector, 1849.)

In those vast forests dwelt a race of kings
Free as the eagle when he spreads his wings—
His wings which never in their wild flight lag
In mists which fly the fierce tornado's flag
Their flight, the eagle's! and their name alas!
The eagle's shadow swooping o'er the grass,
Or, as it fades it well may seem to be
The shade of tempest driven o'er the sea!"³¹

At the time the colonists landed in Virginia, 1607, the country between the mountains and the sea was inhabited by a confederacy of thirty tribes, 8,000 in number, over whom Powhatan ruled; their dominions extending over the land lying south of the Potomac, between the coast and the falls of rivers. Besides these there were thirteen tribes not united with the confederacy. Certain of Powhatan's possessions had descended to him from his ancestors and these lay on James River.

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Powhatan | 4. Pamunkey |
| 2. Arrowhattock | 5. Youghtamund |
| 3. Appamattock | 6. Mattapoment. |

His favorite seats were *Powhatan*, on James River, about a mile below the falls, where Richmond stands: and *Werowocomoco*³² on the north side of York River, in what is now known as Gloucester county. The settlers, coming

³¹ "Anniversary Ode" 1857.

³² Smith, Vol. II, p. 142.

from Gloucestershire in England, transferred the names of places and streams there; the county seat is about opposite Yorktown.

"Werowocomoco, so celebrated in early colonial chronicles, was the scene of many interviews and engagements between the Indians and the settlers: the name of the river upon which it was situated was derived from one of the tribes." Smith describes this river, Pamaunkee, as being "fourteen myles northward from the town Powhatan" and about twenty-five myles from where the river divides, lower on the north side of this river is Werowocomoco,—where their great werowance inhabited,—a site nearly opposite to Queen's creek.

Next neighbors to Powhatan, were the Chickahomnie tribe, who, when they heard of Pocahontas' marriage, sent deputies and submitted by solemn treaty to become subjects of King James, and to submit to his governors in the colony; to pay tribute, and furnish men to fight against whatever enemies should attack the colony only stipulating, that at home, they should continue to be governed by their own laws.

But not all neighboring tribes were friendly to each other and there were several combined against the Powhatan confederacy: one, the Manakins, consisted of five tribes and were settled between York and James rivers above the falls, occupying the land, which later was embraced in Powhatan county in which they had a town. Their allies were the Mannahoacks, who inhabited the country lying between the Rappahannock and York rivers, numbering eight tribes in their settlement. These peoples had disappeared from that part of the colony towards the close of the seventeenth century; and Beverley tells of the arrival

in 1699, in several batches, aggregating 800 persons of French Huguenots, refugees fleeing from France—after the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685—on account of religious persecution and sent over by King William;—who were advised to “seat on a very rich piece of land about twenty miles above the falls of the James, formerly the seat of a very great and warlike nation called Monocans.”

The French refugees were naturalized by an especial law, provision being made for them until they were able to provide for themselves.

Smith writes of conditions in the colony at the time of the massacre “In the yeere of our Lord 1622, there were about seven or eight thousand English indifferently well-furnished with most necessaries and many of them grew to that height of bravery, living in that plenty and excesse, that went hither not worth anything, made the company here thinke all the world was Oatmeale there and all this proceeded by surviving those that died, nor were they ignorant to use as curious tricks there as here, and out of the juice of Tobacco which at first they sold at such good rates they regarded nothing but Tobacco, a commodity then so vendable, it provided them all things: and the loving Salvages, their kinde friends, they trained so well up to shoot in a Piece to hunt and kill them fowle, they became more expert than our own Country-men, whose labours were more profitable to their Masters in planting Tobacco and other businesse.”

These colonists were scattered over the province on plantations reckoned by hundred acres, hence to the names given by the owners, was added the descriptive title *hundred* which adhered to the places for many years and have not entirely disappeared at this date.

Among the early records of the corporation of Henrico are found the following:

On the northerly ridge of James river, from the falls down to Henrico, containing ten miles in length, are the public lands, surveyed and laid out; whereof 10,000 acres form the university lands, 3,000 acres form the company's lands, with other lands belonging to the college. The common land for that corporation was 1,500 acres.

On the southerly side, beginning from the falls, there are there patented, viz:

	Acres		Acres
John Peterson.....	100	Peter Nemenart.....	110
Anthony Edwards.....	100	William Perry.....	100
Nathaniel Norton.....	100	John Plower.....	100
John Proctor.....	200	Surveyed for the use	
Thomas Tracy.....	100	of the iron-works.	
John Vithard.....	100	Edward Hudson.....	100
Francis Weston.....	300	Thomas Morgan.....	150
Phettiplace Close.....	100	Thomas Sheffield.....	150
John Price.....	150		

COSENDALE WITHIN THE CORPORATION OF
HENRICO.

Lieut. Edward Barckley...	112	Peter Nemenart.....	40
Richard Poulton.....	100	Thomas Tindall.....	100
Robert Analand.....	200	Thomas Reed.....	100
John Griffin.....	50	John Laydon.....	200

The clergymen in Virginia at this time were the Rev'ds Whitaker, Mease, (or Mays) Stockham and Bargrave.³³

The massacre which occurred on March 22d, 1622, broke up many plantations and scattered the inhabitants to other quarters.

³³ Campbell, p. 158.

"The great emperor, Powhatan, a man of consummate art and dignity—active in mind, inventive in council, prompt in execution and bold in danger—full of years of martial activity died in peace in 1618, then upwards of seventy years of age.³⁴ His proper name was *Wahunsonacock*, but he was given the names, Ottaniack and Mamanatowick at times." Beverley adds to his dominions, already mentioned, Werowocomoco and Kiskiack (later corrupted into Cheesecake)

Though English skill overpowered his native ingenuity, his defeat could not obscure his exalted powers, and history respectfully records the superiority of his mind and aims over those of the civilized monarch, with whom he had to contend.

The marriage of Pocahontas, eminently satisfactory to her father had not produced the lasting good understanding between the settlers and natives it seemed to betoken. Anticipating other intermarriages, the natives became offended at the refusal of the whites to become husbands of Indian women.³⁵

Succeeding Powhatan, as chief over his own and neighboring tribes, Opechancanough was distinguished by his courage, dissimulation and hatred of the new inhabitants and though he renewed the friendly treaty made by Powhatan it was only to conceal his real motive, to avail himself of the tranquility produced, in preparing his plans for the terrible tragedy, to the carrying out of which he now devoted himself.

Using his acknowledged jealousy of another chief, Nematnow, "Jack of the Feather," to embroil the English

³⁴ Campbell.

³⁵ Belknap.

in a quarrel with that tribe, the incident of the chief's killing one Morgan, storekeeper, which resulted in the Indian's death at the hands of Morgan's people, gave excuse for the display of his rancorous hatred. While pretending to share the indignation of his people, Opechancanough counterfeited placability, assuring the English that 'the sky should sooner fall than peace be broken by him,' and yet he was secretly planning the most severe blow that befel the young colony, verifying the saying that man in a state of nature is prone to violence.

"Upon the day selected for the massacre, under various pretences, the savages assembled around the unguarded settlements.

"Some carried presents of fish and game, others presented themselves as guests, seeking hospitality, on the evening before the massacre. Not an unguarded look of exultation occurred to disclose the designs of ferocity.

"Entire destruction was prevented by the revelation of one Indian convert, who was made privy to the plot by his own brother communicating to him the command of the Indian king to share in the exploit. This convert, informed an Englishman,³⁶ in whose house he was residing, who in turn carried the tidings to Jamestown in time to alarm the nearest settlers. In one hour 349 persons were cut off scarcely knowing how they fell; six of these were members of the Council and many of them, the most eminent and respectable inhabitants.

"The retaliatory deceit practiced by the colonists has been greatly overated; through the cloud of passion and surprise exercised by the massacre, the truth could not be easily discerned.³⁷

³⁶ Rich Pace, of "Pace's Pains," whose son, George Pace, after the massacre married the daughter of Maycock.

³⁷ Belknap.

Smith says "The contemplation and endurance of cruelty tends to make one cruel, yet to the honor of the colonists be it remembered that even during the prevalence of these hostilities, a deliberate attempt to cozen or subjugate a body of Indians was prosecuted as an offence against the law of God, and laws of nature and nations."

Smith gives a list of the slain.³⁸

At Captain John Berkeley's plantation, seated at the Falling Creek sixty-six miles from James City, himself and twenty-one others; at Master Sheffield's plantation, 3 miles from Falling Creek, himself and twelve others; at Henrico islands two miles from Sheffield's plantation, 6; slain of the college people twenty miles from Henrico, 17; at Charles City, and of Captain Smith's men, 5; at the next adjoining plantation, 8; at William Farrar's house, 10; at Brickley³⁹ Hundred, 50 miles from Charles City, Master George Thorpe and ten more.

This last-named gentleman had left a handsome estate and an honorable employment in England and was appointed chief manager of a plantation and seminary designed for the maintenance and education of young Indians in Virginia. He was one of the best friends of the Indians and had been earnestly concerned in the business of instructing and evangelizing, and remarkably kind and generous to them. It was by his exertion, that the house was built in which Opecancanough took so much pleasure. He was warned of his danger by one of his servants, who immediately made his escape, but Mr. Thorpe would not believe that they intended him any harm and thus fell an easy victim to their fury. Thorpe was a kinsman of Sir Thomas Dale.

³⁸ History p. 149.

³⁹ As Berkeley, seat of the Harrisons.

At Westover, a mile from Brickley, 2; at Master John Wests' plantation, 2; at Capt Nathaniel Wests' plantation, 2; at Richard Owen's house, himself and 6 more; at Lieutenant Gibb's plantation, 12; at Master Owen Macar's house, himself and 3 more; at Martin's Hundred, seven miles from James City, 73; at another place, 7; at Edward Bonits' plantation, 50; at Master Waters' house himself and 4 more; at Apamatuck's river at Master Perse's plantation, 5 miles from the college, 4;

Nathaniel Causie was severely wounded, at "Causey's Care." At Master Maycock's dividend, Capt. Sam'l Maycock and 4 more; at Flowerda Hundred, Sir Geo. Yeardley's plantation, 6; on the opposite side to it, 7; at Master Swinhow's house, himself and 7 more; at Master Wm. Bickar's house, himself and 4 more; at Weanock of Sir George Yeardley's people, 21; at Powell Brooke, Capt. Nathaniel Powell and 12 more; (Powell had married the daughter of Wm. Tracy, and she was killed with her husband); at Southampton Hundred, 5; at Martin's Brandon Hundred, 7; at Captain Henry Spelman's house,⁴⁰ 2; at Ensign Spence's house, 5; at Master Perse's by Mulberry island, himself and 4 more; the whole number three hundred and forty-nine. Edward Lister was among the killed.⁴¹

When the news of the massacre was carried to England, the governor and colony were considered as subjects of blame, by those very persons who had enjoined them to treat the Indians with mildness.

"An effect of the massacre was the ruin of the Iron-works at Falling Creek, where the destruction was so complete that of twenty-four people, only a boy and girl escaped

⁴⁰ Beverley. Captain Spelman at "Cekacawone."

⁴¹ Beverley.

by hiding themselves. The superintendent of this work had discovered a vein of lead ore, which he kept to himself, but made use of it to supply himself and friends with shot. The knowledge of this was lost by his death for many years. It was found by Col. Byrd and again lost, and a third time found by John Chiswell.

A consequence also of this fatal event, was an order from the government, to draw together the remnant of the people into a narrow compass. Of eighty plantations all were abandoned but six, which lay contiguous, at the lower part of James River; Shirley Hundred, Flowerda Hundred, Jamestown, Paspaha, Kiquotan and Southampton. The owners or overseers of three or four others refused to obey the order, intrenching themselves in their quarters and mounting cannon for their defence. Among these persons was Mr. Edward Hill at Elizabeth City.

"Samuel Jordan gathered together but a few of the stragglers about him at *Beggar's Bush*,⁴³ his place, where he fortified and lived despite of the enemy." Governor Wyatt wrote from Virginia in April 1622, a month after the massacre, "that he thought fit to hold a few outlying places including the Plantation of Mr. Samuel Jourdans, but to abandon others and concentrate the Colonists at Jamestown." (Capt. Samuel Jordan, who married Cicely —, died 1623.)

"One Mrs. Proctor, a gentlewoman of an heroic spirit, defended her plantation a month, till the officers of the Colony obliged her to abandon it, when she left, the savages burnt her house down."

⁴³ Jordan called his place "Beggar's Bush," after the title of one of Fletcher's comedies, but it was afterwards known as "Jordan's Point" lying in Prince George County, and a seat of the revolutionary patriot, Richard Bland. Jordan's Plantation was also called "Jordan's Journey."

"At Warrasqueake, Baldwin, a colonist, defended himself and saved his family."

Another colonist, Harrison, together with Thomas Hamor and twenty-two others successfully drove the Indians away, using spades, axes and brickbats, having barricaded themselves in a new house Harrison was building; thus escaped the savage onslaught. Mr. Daniel Gookin "the Master Gookin out of Ireland who, with fifty men of his own and thirty Passengers baptized the shamrock in the blue and teeming waters of the harbour landed at Newport News, and established a settlement, he named "Mary's Mount:"—with 35 men, protected his place against the Indians and the attempts of the officers to eject him.

Beverley gives in his list of the killed; the name of Captain Norton "a valiant industrious gentleman, adorned with good qualities, besides Physicke and Chirurgery." "Captain Newce"⁴³ and his wife, then living in Elizabeth City shewed great liberality to the sufferers. Several of the families, whose homes had been broken up, escaped to North Carolina, where they settled."

When the General Assembly met in 1623-4 among their enactments was one "that the twenty-second of March be yearly solemnized as a holliday"⁴⁴ (the first institution of a public thanksgiving in the country); for the memory of the slaughter of their companions still overshadowed the remaining settlers.

As years rolled by and the Indians became weakened by successions of hostilities, they lost nothing of their skill

⁴³ Beverley writes this name Nuse.

⁴⁴ Hening, Vol. II, p. 138.

in warfare; with the decrease of their numbers, they seemed to grow more cunning and vindictive.

Opechancanough lived to plan and execute a second massacre in 1644, which Beverley tells, cost the loss of five hundred colonists.

Meeting in 1645, the Grand Assembly felt called upon to record their thanks of deliverance from destruction, marking the 18th day of April a thanksgiving for escape from the Indians and general holiday, as well as the former day. This special law "enacted and confirmed by the authorities of this present Grand Assembly that the two and twentieth day of March and the eighteenth day of April be yearly kept holie in commemoration of our deliverance from the Indians at the bloody massacres, the twenty-second day of March, 1621 (O. S.), and the eighteenth of April, 1644."⁴⁵

Even after the capture and death of their chief, Opechancanough, their warfare continued until a treaty was effected by Sir William Berkeley on October 5, 1646, with Necotowance, called "King of the Indians,"—who had succeeded Opechancanough,—by which he agreed to hold his authority from the King of England, while the Assembly engaged to protect him from his enemies, for which he was to deliver to the governor a yearly tribute of twenty beaver skins at the departure of the wild geese.

It was further agreed that the Indians should occupy the country on the north side of York River and to cede to the English all the country between the York and the James, from the falls to the Chesapeake forever.

It was death for an Indian to be found within this territory, unless sent as a messenger, and these were to be admitted into the colony by means of badges of striped cloth.

* Hening, Vol. I, p. 459.

For the white man it was felony to be found on the Indian hunting ground, which was to extend from the head of Yapin, the Blackwater, to the old Mannakin town on the James.

Badges would be received at Forts Royal and Henry. Fort Royal was on the Pamunkey. Fort Henry was established at the falls of Appomattox—now the site of Petersburg—Fort Charles at the falls of James River, and Fort James on the Chickahominy: this was under the command of Lieutenant Thomas Rolfe,⁴⁶ the son of Pocahontas.

Thus the Indians were at last excluded from their father land and the colonists, having secured the right of possession, enjoyed the prosperity it yielded them.

A slight uprising of the Rappahannocks was soon quelled and the whites and neighboring Indians remained on good terms. But in 1656 a fierce tribe of Rechahechrians came down from the mountains and fortified themselves at the falls of the James with about seven hundred warriors.

For the possession of this point there had long been contention. An expedition of whites was sent to dislodge the intruders, but failed in the attempt and it was found necessary to send another. The second expedition was put under the command of Col. Edward Hill, who was reinforced by subject Indians, Totopotomoi, chief of Pamunkey with 100 warriors. These troops met with disastrous defeat, the brave chief and most of his men being slain during the struggle. The name of Bloody Run, near Richmond, is supposed to commemorate this sanguinary battle.

After the restoration of Charles II. to the English throne, numerous acts relating to the Indians were reduced into one:

⁴⁶ In 1641 Thomas Rolfe petitioned the governor for permission to visit his kinsman Opechancanough and Cleopatre, his aunt.

1. Ordering the English seated near to assist them in fencing their cornfields.
2. Prohibiting trade with them without license.
3. Imprisonment of an Indian Chief without a warrant.
4. Badges of silver and copper plate were to be furnished Indian chiefs, and no Indian was to enter English confines without a badge, under penalty of imprisonment till ransomed by one hundred arm's length of shell-money.
5. Indian Chiefs, tributary to the English must give alarm at the approach of hostile Indians.
6. Indians could not be sold as slaves.⁴⁷

One of the metal badges, used by the tribe *Potomeck*, called a "Token of Amity" is to be seen at the rooms of the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, of which the cut here given is a reproduction.

In the enforcement of law, the colonial government endeavored to deal justly by the Indians; and it sometimes happened that false charges were brought against them.

"Wahanganoche, Chief of *Potomack*, charged with treason and murder by Captain Charles Brent, before the Assembly, was acquitted and Brent as well as Captain George Mason and others were required to pay the chief a certain sum in roanoke, or matchcoats (from matchkore, deerskin) in satisfaction of injuries.

"This chief and other northern werowances and mangais were required to give hostages of their children and others who were to be kindly treated and instructed in English as far as practicable. The chief of Potomac was inhibited from holding any matchacomico or council, with any strange tribe before the delivery of hostages."

⁴⁷ Henning, Vol. II, p. 138.



TOKEN OF AMITY.

The tributary Indians of Virginia at this period were:⁴⁸

	Bowmen or hunters	
Nansemond County.....		45
Surrey County.....	{ Powchay-icks	30
	{ Weyenoakes.....	15
Charles City County.....	{ Men Heyricks.....	50
	{ Nottoways, two towns...	90
	{ Appomattox.....	50
Henrico County.....	{ Manachees.....	30
	{ Powhites.....	10
	{ Pamunkeys.....	50
	{ Chickahommies.....	60
New Kent County.....	{ Mataponeys.....	20
	{ Rappahannocks.....	30
	{ Totas-Chees.....	40
Gloucester County.....	Chiskoyaches.....	15
	{ Portobaccoes.....	60
Rappahannock County....	{ Nanzcattico	50
	{ Mattchatique	
Northumberland County....	Wickacomico.....	70
Westmoreland County.....	Appomattox.....	10
Altogether.....		725

In 1672 the assembly provided for the defense of the country by repairing forts.

Vigorous laws were enacted for the recovery of runaways and rewards were offered the Indians for arresting such. All freemen were bound to muster in their own counties, the entire available force consisting of 8,000 horsemen.

Provision was made for a supply of arms and ammunition.

⁴⁸ Campbell, p. 264.

At this date the Indians were in perfect subjection: but in a few years they renewed their incursions upon the frontier, and though not now causing danger of destruction to the whole colony, the frontier people were greatly harassed, and the united strength was required to repel the invaders.

For the special protection of that section, on March 7, 1675, a standing army of 100 men was raised by the Assembly; and before the embroilment of the civil war, Bacon with volunteer forces, had been successful in opposing the hostile Indians, taking many captive and burning their towns.

At the meeting of the Assembly March, 1676, war was declared against the hostiles, 500 men enlisted and the forts were garrisoned. Sir Henry Chicheley, put in command, was ordered to disarm all savages; martial law was put in force; days of fasting were appointed.

But when the troops were about to march in obedience to orders, Gov. Berkeley disbanded them, to the general dissatisfaction of the colony. Conditions grew worse, no man ventured out of doors unarmed; even Jamestown was in danger. At length the country people, banded together, arose in tumultuous self-defence.

After forming his government at Jamestown, Bacon again proceeded against the savages, now combined in a confederacy, and destroyed the Pamunkey, Chickahominy and Mataponi towns in retaliation for depredations.

"The Indian disturbances increasing, Berkeley directed the house to take measures to defend the country. While the committee on Indian affairs was sitting, the Queen of Pamunkey, a descendant of Opechancanough, was introduced: accompanied by an interpreter and her son, a youth of twenty years, she entered the room with graceful



FRONTLET OF QUEEN OF PAMUNKEY.

(Copyrighted by S. T. Hanger, 1906.)

dignity. She was clothed in a mantle of dressed buckskin—the fur outward and bordered with a deep fringe—from head to foot. Around her head she wore a plait of black and white wampum-peake, a drilled purple bead of shell, three inches wide, after the manner of a crown.

“Being seated the chairman asked her, ‘How many men she would lend the English for guides and allies?’ In answer she burst forth in an impassioned speech of fifteen minutes’ length often repeating the words ‘Totopotomoi dead’ alluding to her husband’s death while fighting under Col. Hill, the elder. The chairman, untouched by the scene, repeated the inquiry. She sat silent till the question was asked the third time when she replied in a low tone ‘Six.’ When further importuned she agreed to give ‘Twelve;’ having then in her town one hundred and fifty warriors.”

In 1677 the Indians properly belonging to Virginia had been effectually subdued and Jeffries, now governor, succeeded in making a treaty with the western tribes by which they bound themselves to terms of friendship with the whites. A number of tribes were included in this treaty, concluded at Middle Plantation, and ratified with all due solemnity; and by the articles of peace, each town was to pay three arrows for their land and twenty beaver skins for protection every year. In commemoration of services rendered, after this treaty of peace, there was presented to the Queen of Pamunkey a velvet cap representing a crown, ornamented with a silver frontlet.⁵⁰

Of the remnant of Indians left in Virginia at the beginning of the eighteenth century Beverley gives the following list. “Those east of the Blue Ridge are almost wasted;

⁵⁰ Campbell.

they live poorly and much in fear of neighboring tribes. Each town by the articles of peace, 1677, pays three Indian arrows for their land and twenty beaver skins for protection every year.—In Accomack are eight towns, viz:

1. Mantonikin; decreased by small-pox.
2. Gingoteague; joined with a Maryland nation.
3. Kiequotank; reduced to a few men.
4. Matchopungo; a small number.
5. Occahanock; a small number.
6. Pungoteque; a small nation, governed by a queen.
7. Oanancock; four or five families.
8. Chiconessex; very few, who just keep the name.

— Nanduye; a seat of the empress, not above twenty families, but she hath all the nations of the shore under tribute.

— In Northampton; Gangascoe, which is almost as numerous as all the foregoing nations put together.

— In Prince George; Weyomoke is extinct.

— In Charles City; Appomattox is extinct.

— In Surry; 100 bowmen, of late, thriving and increasing.

— By Nansemond; Meheering, thirty bowmen, who keep at a stand.

Nansemond, thirty bowmen, who have increased of late.

— In King William's County; Pamunkie has forty bowmen, who decrease.

Chickahominie had about sixteen bowmen, lately increased.

— In Essex; Rappahannock, extinct.

— In Richmond; Port Tobago, extinct.

— In Northumberland; Wiccomocco has but few men living, which yet keep up their kingdom and retain their fashion, yet live by themselves, separate from all other Indians and from the English.

Col. Byrd writes in his journal that in 1728 "including women and children the Indians numbered but 200."

Jefferson found twenty or thirty members on Pamunkey and Nottoway Rivers, the last in King William and Southampton, degraded by intermarriage with a lower race.

May 20th, 1740, William Bohannon made oath that "about twenty-six of ye Saponi Indians that inhabit on Col. Spotswood's land in Fox' neck go about and do a great deal of mischief."

The Pamunkeys at Indian town on the Pamunkey River are thus described in 1759; "On the north side of the river stands the Pamunkey town where at present are the few remains of that large tribe, the rest having dwindled away through intemperance and disease.

"They live in little wigwams or cabins upon the river and have a fine tract of about 2,000 acres of land which they are restrained from alienating by act of Assembly, their land being in the hands of trustees appointed to hold it for the tribe.⁵¹ Their employment is chiefly hunting or fishing for the neighboring gentry. They also manufacture pottery and baskets very neatly."

"Many years ago the Pamunkeys tried to emigrate west, but were caught in a severe winter near Fredericksburg. They were greatly aided during the winter by Mr. Alexander Morson, of Falmouth, and in the spring, when they determined to go back to their old home, they gave or sold what is now called *the Indian Crown* to Mr. Morson. This relic was purchased from his heirs by the Society for Preservation of Virginia Antiquities."⁵² It is now exhibited at the rooms of the Virginia Historical Society.

⁵¹ Howe's Antiquities.

⁵² Mr. W. G. Standard, Librarian, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

A description of this Indian ornament, accompanied by an engraved representation, appeared in the Family Magazine, 1838, by J. M., at Fredericksburg. "A silver frontlet obviously part of a crown. The engraving upon it is first, *the crest*, surmounted by a lion passant. The Escutcheon, as delineated, field argent. Beneath this is a scroll, containing the words 'The Queene of Pamunkey.' Those nondescript things in the dexter, chief and sinister base quarters, are lions passant and the whole is bordered with a wreath. Just within the wreath is inscribed 'Charles the Second, King of England, Scotland, France, Ireland and Virginia.' Within that, the words '*Honi soit qui mal y pense.*'"

"The Pamunkey tribe still occupies its old ground in King William County; exercising to a certain extent its own laws."—When writing his history in 1845, Howe learned there were about 100 descendants of the Pamunkeys, but their Indian character was nearly extinct by intermixing with whites and negroes. Also he was told of a remnant of the Mattaponi, fifteen or twenty in number.

(The junction of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi form the York River; at the point of juncture, now known as West Point, Opechancanough, King of Pamunkey had his habitation.) The only other tribe was the Nottoways on the river of the same name: they held a reservation of good land about fifteen miles square near Jerusalem, in Southampton, a county watered by the Meherrin, Nottoway and Black-water Rivers.

Now "the vanquished hunter scarcely leaves a trail."

APPENDIX.

LIST OF PRESIDENTS, GOVERNORS, ETC., OF VIRGINIA.

1607.	Edw. Maria Wingfield.....	President
1607.	John Ratcliffe.....	"
1608.	John Smith.....	"
1609.	George Percy.....	"
1609.	Thos. West, Lord Delaware.....	Governor
1611.	Thomas Dale.....	High Marshal
1616.	George Yeardley.....	Lieut-Governor
1617.	Samuel Argall.....	" "
1619.	George Yeardley.....	Governor
1621.	Francis Wyatt.....	"
1626.	George Yeardley.....	"
1627.	Francis West.....	"
1628.	John Potts.....	"
1629.	John Harvey.....	"
1635.	John West.....	"
1635.	John Harvey.....	"
1639.	Francis Wyatt.....	"
1641.	William Berkeley.....	"
1645.	Richard Kemp.....	Lieut-Governor
1645.	William Berkeley.....	Governor
1652.	Richard Bennett.....	"
1656.	Edward Digges.....	"
1658.	Samuel Matthews.....	"
1660.	William Berkeley.....	"
1677.	Herbert Jeffries.....	Lieut-Governor
1677.	Herbert Jeffries.....	Governor
1678.	Henry Chicheley.....	"
1679.	Thomas, Lord Culpeper.....	"
1680.	Henry Chicheley.....	Lieut-Governor
1684.	Lord Howard of Effingham.....	Governor
1689.	Nathaniel Bacon.....	Lieut-Governor
1690.	Francis Nicholson.....	" "

1692. Edmund Andros.....	Governor
1698. Francis Nicholson.....	"
1704. Earl of Orkney.....	"
1705. Edward Nott.....	Lieut-Governor
1706. Edmund Jennings.....	" "
1710. Robert Hunter.....	" "
1710. Alexander Spotswood.....	" "
1722. Hugh Drysdale.....	" "
1726. Robert Carter.....	" "
1727. William Gooch.....	" "
1749. ——— Robinson.....	" "
1749. Lord Albemarle.....	Governor
1750. Louis Burwell.....	Lieut-Governor
1752. Robert Dinwiddie.....	" "
1758. John Blair.....	" "
1758. Francis Fauquier.....	Governor
1768. John Blair.....	Lieut-Governor
1768. Norborne Berkley De Botetourt.....	Governor
1770. William Nelson.....	Lieut-Governor
1772. John, Lord Dunmore.....	Governor
1776. Patrick Henry.....	Governor of the State of Virginia
1779. Thomas Jefferson.....	" " "
1781. Thomas Nelson.....	" " "
1781. Benjamin Harrison.....	" " "
1784. Patrick Henry.....	" " "
1786. Edmund Randolph.....	" " "
1788. Beverley Randolph.....	" " "
1791. Henry Lee.....	" " "
1794. Robert Brooke.....	" " "
1796. James Wood.....	" " "
1799. James Monroe.....	" " "
1802. John Page.....	" " "
1805. Wm. H. Cabell.....	" " "
1808. John Tyler.....	" " "
1811. James Monroe.....	" " "
1811. George W. Smith.....	" " "
1812. James Barbour.....	" " "
1814. Wilson Carey Nicholas.....	" " "

1816.	Jas. P. Preston.....	Governor of the State of Virginia
1819.	Thos. M. Randolph.....	" " "
1822.	James Pleasants.....	" " "
1825.	John Tyler.....	" " "
1827.	Wm. B. Giles.....	" " "
1829.	John Floyd.....	" " "
1833.	Littleton W. Tazewell.....	" " "
1836.	Wyndham Robertson.....	Lieut-Governor
1837.	David Campbell.....	Governor
1840.	Thos. W. Gilmer.....	"
1841.	John M. Patton.....	Lieut-Governor
1841.	John Rutherford.....	" "
1842.	John M. Gregory.....	" "
1843.	James McDowell.....	Governor
1846.	Wm. Smith.....	"
1849.	Jno. B. Floyd.....	"
1851.	John Johnson.....	"
1852.	Joseph Johnson.....	"
1856.	Henry A. Wise.....	"
1860.	John Letcher.....	"

COUNTY FORMATIONS.

The eight Counties first formed in 1634, were.

1. *James City*; with York River on its northern, James river on its southern boundary. Of its towns, Jamestown, on a point projecting into the James, was settled, 1607.

Middle Plantation settled in 1632, called Williamsburg at its selection as the capital, 1698.

2. *Henrico*; on the James and Chickahominy Rivers. Henrico town, established 1611, called in honor of Prince Henry and from the town originated the name of the county.

3. *Elizabeth City*; Hampton, on Hampton Roads, established 1705. Old Point Comfort discovered and named, 1607.

4. *Warwick River*; (changed to Warwick in 1642) on the peninsula between York and James rivers.

5. *Warrosquoyacki* (changed to Isle of Wight in 1637) Smithfield established 1752, named for the original owner of the land.

6. *Charles River*; changed to York in 1642) on Chesapeake bay and York river. Yorktown, established 1705.

7. *Charles City*; originally on both sides of James river, now reduced, with the James on the south and the Chickahominy on the east and north. In this county is Byrd's seat of Westover.

8. *Accawmacke*; (changed to Northampton in 1642).

Upper Norfolk, formed March, 1645, changed to (Nansiman,

<i>Northumberland</i>	formed	October	1648
<i>Surry</i>	"	April	1652
<i>Gloucester</i>	"	November	1652
<i>Lancaster</i>	"	November	1652
<i>Westmoreland</i>	"	July	1653
<i>New Kent</i>	"	November	1654
<i>Rappahannock</i>	"	December	1656
<i>Stafford</i>	"	October	1666
<i>Accomac</i> , new county from Northampton	"		1672
<i>Middlesex</i> , from Lancaster.....	"		1675

<i>Lower Norfolk</i> , divided to form two new counties, <i>Norfolk</i> and <i>Princess Anne</i>	1691
<i>King and Queen</i> , from <i>New Kent</i>	1691
<i>Rappahannock</i> , divided (became extinct) " " to form <i>Richmond</i> and <i>Essex</i>	1692
<i>King William</i> , from <i>King and Queen</i>	1701
<i>Prince George</i> , from <i>Charles City County</i>	1702
<i>Spotsylvania</i> , from <i>Essex</i> , <i>King William</i> and } <i>King and Queen</i> , established, 1721, }	1720
<i>Brunswick</i> , from <i>Surry</i> and <i>Isle of Wight</i>	November 1720
<i>King George</i> , from <i>Richmond County</i>	" 1720
<i>Hanover</i> , from <i>New Kent</i>	" 1720
<i>Caroline</i> , from <i>Essex</i> , <i>King and Queen</i> , and <i>King</i> <i>William</i>	1727
<i>Goochland</i> , from <i>Henrico</i>	February 1727
<i>Prince William</i> , from <i>Stafford</i> and <i>King George</i> ...	May 1730
¹ <i>Orange</i> , from <i>Spotsylvania</i>	January 1734
<i>Amelia</i> , from <i>Prince George</i> and <i>Brunswick</i>	August 1734
<i>Frederick</i> , from <i>Orange</i>	November 1738
<i>Augusta</i> , from <i>Orange</i>	" 1738
<i>Fairfax</i> , from <i>Prince William</i>	May 1742
<i>Louisa</i> , from <i>Hanover</i>	May 1742
² <i>Albemarle</i> , from <i>Goochland</i>	September 1744
³ <i>Lunenburg</i> , from <i>Brunswick</i>	February 1745
<i>Halifax</i> , from <i>Lunenburg</i>	May 1752
<i>Dinwiddie</i> , from <i>Prince George</i>	" 1752
<i>Hampshire</i> , from <i>Augusta</i> and <i>Frederick</i>	" 1754
<i>Bedford</i> , from <i>Lunenburg</i>	" 1753
<i>Prince Edward</i> , from <i>Amelia</i>	January 1754
<i>Sussex</i> , from <i>Surry</i>	February 1754
<i>Loudon</i> , from <i>Fairfax</i>	July 1757
<i>Fauquier</i> , from <i>Prince William</i>	1759
<i>Amherst</i> , from <i>Albemarle</i>	May 1761
<i>Buckingham</i> , from <i>Albemarle</i>	" 1761
<i>Charlotte</i> , from <i>Lunenburg</i>	March 1765
<i>Mecklenburg</i> , from <i>Lunenburg</i>	" 1765

¹ Est. 1735.² Est. 1745.³ Est. 1746.

<i>Pittsylvania</i> , from <i>Halifax</i>	June	1767
<i>Botetourt</i> , from <i>Augusta</i>	January	1770
<i>Cumberland</i> , from <i>Goochland</i>		1748
<i>Southampton</i> , from <i>Isle of Wight</i>		1748
<i>Chesterfield</i> , from <i>Henrico</i>		1748
<i>Berkley</i> , from <i>Frederick</i>	May	1772
<i>Dunmore</i> , from <i>Frederick</i>	"	1772
Changed by Act of Assembly to } <i>Shenando</i> or <i>Shenandoah</i> , }		1777
<i>Fincastle</i> , from <i>Botetourt</i>	December	1772
divided by Act of Assembly, 1776, into Kentucky, Washington and Montgomery, and name of Fincastle County became extinct.		
<i>Henry</i> , from <i>Pittsylvania</i>	December	1776
<i>West Augusta District</i> , from <i>Augusta County</i>	October	1776
<i>Ohio</i> , from <i>West Augusta District</i>	November	1776
<i>Yohogania</i> , from <i>West Augusta District</i>	"	1776
by extension of the West boundary of Pennsylvania the greater part fell within the limits of that state and the residue was, by Act of 1785, added to Ohio County and Yohogania became extinct.		
<i>Powhatan</i> , from <i>Cumberland</i>	July	1777
<i>Fluvanna</i> , from <i>Albemarle</i>	"	1777
<i>Monongahelia</i> , from <i>West Augusta District</i>		1776
<i>Rockingham</i> , from <i>Augusta</i>	March	1778
<i>Rockbridge</i> , from <i>Augusta</i> and <i>Botetourt</i>		1778
<i>Greenbrier</i> , from <i>Montgomery</i> and <i>Botetourt</i>		1778
<i>Illinois</i> , of territory on West side of Ohio River and adjacent to the Mississippi.....	October	1778
<i>Jefferson</i> , from <i>Kentucky</i>	November	1780
<i>Fayette</i> , from <i>Kentucky</i>		1780
<i>Lincoln</i> , from <i>Kentucky</i>		1780
Kentucky County then became extinct.		
<i>Greensville</i> , from <i>Brunswick</i>	February	1781
<i>Campbell</i> , from <i>Bedford</i>	"	1782
<i>Harrison</i> , from <i>Monongahelia</i>	July	1784
<i>Nelson</i> , from <i>Jefferson</i>	"	1758
⁴ <i>Franklin</i> , from <i>Bedford</i> and <i>Henry</i>		1784

⁴ Est. Oct. 1785.

<i>Hardy, from Hampshire</i>	February	1786
<i>Bourbon, from Fayette</i>	May	1786
<i>Russell, from Washington</i>	"	1786
<i>Mercer, from Lincoln</i>	August	1786
<i>Madison, from Lincoln</i>	"	1786
<i>Randolph, from Harrison</i>	May	1787
<i>Pendleton, from Augusta, Hardy and Rockingham</i>	"	1788
<i>Mason, from Bourbon</i>	"	1789
<i>Woodford, from Fayette</i>	"	1789
<i>Kanawha, from Greenbrier and Montgomery</i>	October	1789
<i>Nottoway, from Amelia</i>	May	1789
<i>Wythe, from Montgomery</i>	"	1790
<i>Patrick, from Henry</i>	June	1791
<i>Matthews, from Gloucester</i>	May	1791
<i>Bath, from Augusta, Botetourt and Greenbrier</i>	"	1791
<i>Lee, from Russell</i>	"	1793
<i>Madison, (2d of the name) from Culpeper</i>	"	1793
<i>Grayson, from Wythe</i>	"	1793
<i>Charlotte, from Lunenburg</i>		1794
<i>Brooke, from Ohio County</i>		1797
<i>Monroe, from Greenbrier</i>		1799
<i>Wood, from Harrison</i>		1799
<i>Jefferson (2d of the name), from Berkeley</i>		1801
<i>Mason, from Kanawha</i>		1804
<i>Nelson, (2d of the name) from Amherst</i>		1807
<i>Cabell, from Kanawha</i>		1809
<i>Giles, from Monroe and Tazewell</i>		1806
<i>Tyler, from Ohio</i>		1814
<i>Scott, from Lee, Washington and Russell</i>		1814
<i>Lewis, from Harrison</i>		1816
<i>Preston, from Monongalia</i>		1818
<i>Nicolas, from Kanawha, Greenbrier and Randolph</i>		1818
<i>Morgan, from Hampshire and Berkeley</i>		1820
<i>Pocahontas, from Bath, Pendleton and Randolph</i>		1821
<i>Alleghany, from Bath, Botetourt and Monroe</i>		1822
<i>Logan, from Giles, Kanawha, Cabell and Tazewell</i>		1824
<i>Jackson, from Mason, Kanawha and Wood</i>		1831
<i>Floyd, from Montgomery</i>		1831

<i>Fayette</i> (2d of the name) from <i>Logan, Greenbrier,</i> } <i>Nicolas and Kanawha,</i>	1831
<i>Page</i> , from <i>Rockingham and Shenandoah</i>	1831
<i>Rappahannock</i> , from <i>Culpeper</i>	1831
<i>Smyth</i> , from <i>Washington and Wythe</i>	1831
<i>Clarke</i> , from <i>Frederick</i>	1836
<i>Marshall</i> , from <i>Ohio</i>	1835
<i>Mercer</i> , from <i>Giles and Tazewell</i>	1837
<i>Braxton</i> , from <i>Lewis, Kanawha and Nicholas</i>	1836
<i>Warren</i> , from <i>Frederick and Shenandoah</i> ...	1836
<i>Greene</i> , from <i>west part of Orange</i>	1838
<i>Roanoke</i> , from <i>Botetourt</i>	1839
<i>Pulaski</i> , from <i>Montgomery and Wythe</i>	1839
<i>Carroll</i> , from <i>s. w. part of Grayson</i>	1842
<i>Marion</i> , from <i>Harrison and Monongahelia</i>	1842
<i>Barbour</i> , from <i>Harrison, Lewis and Randolph</i>	1843
<i>Ritchie</i> , from <i>Harrison, Lewis and Wood</i>	1843
<i>Wayne</i> , from <i>s. w. part of Cabell</i>	1842
<i>Taylor</i> , from <i>Harrison, Barbour and Marion</i>	1844
<i>Appomattox</i> , from <i>Prince Edward, Charlotte and</i> <i>Campbell</i>	1845
<i>Dodridge</i> , from <i>Harrison, Tyler, Ritchie and Lewis</i>	1845
<i>Gilmer</i> , from <i>Lewis and Kanawha</i>	1845
<i>Alexandria</i> , from <i>District of Columbia</i>	1846
<i>Highland</i> , from <i>Bath and Pendleton</i>	1847
<i>Craig</i> , from <i>Botetourt, Roanoke and Giles</i>	1850
<i>Wise</i> , from <i>Russell, Scott and Lee</i>	1856
<i>Buchanan</i> , from <i>Russell and Tazewell</i>	1858
<i>Bland</i> , from <i>Wythe, Giles and Tazewell</i>	1860

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